

NEW ERA

SERIES

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES



BY

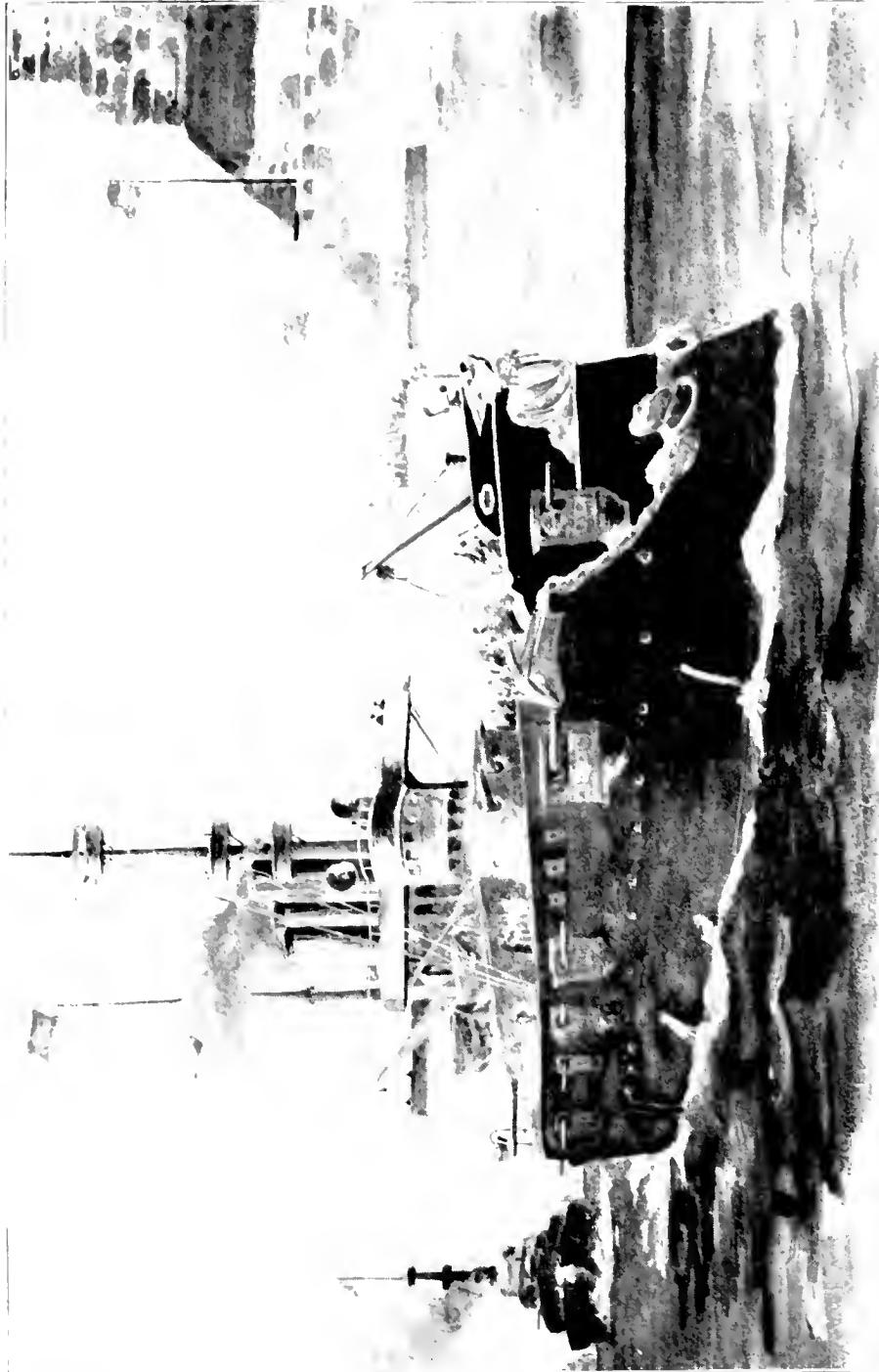
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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.



THE SIGHT THAT GREETED SANTIAGO'S FALL

After the capture of Santiago, the day of the surrender, while the bands played "The Star Spangled Banner."

NEW ERA SERIES

HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES

By ALMA HOLMAN BURTON,

Author of "The Story of Our Country," "Four American Patriots,"
"Lafayette, The Friend of American Liberty,"
"Massasoit," Etc.

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1899

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PREFACE

THE chief aim of the author in compiling this book is to awaken an abiding interest in the history of our country. To this end the narrative style, grouping facts together with direct reference to cause and effect, has been adopted.

Chronology, the dread of the average young student, has been arranged in marginal notes, thus presenting a more than usually complete list of dates without detracting from the sustained recital.

Maps of the scenes of action and portraits of the personages who have played their part in the wondrous human drama enacted in the Western Hemisphere have been selected with the utmost care; the bibliography suggested in the footnotes and appendix is such as any school can afford to secure; the Table of Contemporary European Sovereigns and that of the Admission of the States to the Union will be found invaluable for reference, while the full page colored maps of territorial readjustments will render the study of treaties and purchases a more pleasing and profitable task.

The object for which this little history has been written will have been attained if its pages incite to further quest—not only in the exhaustive works to be found on the shelves of the library, but in newspapers and magazines, in the utterances from the public platforms, and quiet talks around the fireside at home—of those great underlying principles of self-government which have made our republic the pride and glory of the century fast drawing to a close.

To mention severally the historians, from Bancroft, Palfrey, and others of yesterday to Dodge, Andrews, and

others of to-day, whose genius and toil have made the completion of this volume possible, would require a volume of itself.

Grateful acknowledgment is especially due to Charles A. Mc Murray, Ph. D., and Supt. F. W. Nichols for helpful suggestions as to the text ; to Mr. C. L. Ricketts for the artistic illustrations ; and to E. C. Page, professor of history in the Northern Illinois Normal, for the election maps, which epitomize the results of the most important political campaigns.

A. H. B.

October 1, 1899.

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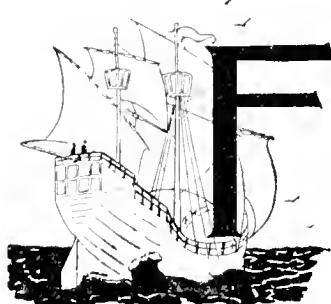
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INTRODUCTION

1450-1492

CHAPTER I

THE OLD WORLD AND THE NEW



FOUR hundred and fifty years ago, the continents of North and South America were not marked on the maps of the world.

Indeed, only the north coast of Africa and that part of Asia covered by the Arabian Desert and its caravan trails, were really known to Europeans.

For many generations the treasures of India were brought by camels from the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea to the ports of the Black and Mediterranean Seas, whence the merchant-ships of Genoa and Venice distributed them to the cities of Europe.

When the Turks seized Constantinople, they shut off the trade by the Black Sea; and then, spreading like a crescent around the eastern and southern borders of the Mediterranean, they subjected trade by way of Alexandria to such a high tax that commerce with the Orient was fast ceasing altogether.

How might the trade with the East be established again? "Drive out the Turk!" said the kings and their armies. "Sail around the Turk," said the navigators and their seamen; and while kings marshaled their warriors, navigators launched their ships.

Trade between
Europe and Asia
in the 15th century

1453
The Turks seize
Constantinople

Prince Henry, the
Navigator

1455
Prince Henry begins
explorations on the
west coast of Africa

John II of Portugal

The "Sea of
Darkness"

The greatest seamen of the time were the Portuguese. Prince Henry, the Navigator, declared that India might be reached by sailing around Africa; but people then looked on such an expedition much as they look to-day on a trip to the North Pole.

Prince Henry persevered in his plans, however. His pilots coasted along the west shore of Africa until they passed the mouth of the Senegal River; then they sailed boldly on to the Gambia, and brought back wonderful tales of their adventures with the negroes who dwelt on its banks. Henry, the Navigator, died before his pilots had reached the Equator. When John II came to the throne of Portugal, he continued the explorations down the coast of Africa, always hoping to find a passage to India.

Perhaps his pilots talked of a voyage beyond the Azores. But there lay the "Sea of Darkness," where the charts pictured the giant hand of Satan rising out of the waters to seize any ship that entered into that region.

"And how," asked the pilots, "may one go east by going west over a flat sea?"

Some of the most learned men believed that the earth was a sphere, about which the sun and the other planets revolved; but even they could not conceive how a ship might sail without falling off when it reached the downward curve.

The sailors of King John pushed cautiously on to the south along the west coast of Africa. And while they were trying at every bend to find a way to the East, two undiscovered continents lay far in the West.

These continents, one lying south of the other, were peopled by strange races of men. In the extreme north



ESKIMO

The two continents
at the west

were the Eskimos, "eaters of raw meat." They were a ^{The Eskimos} people of yellow skin who dressed in furs, and speared the seal and walrus in the icy waters which feed the Arctic Ocean.

South of the Eskimos dwelt a race, not brown like the Turks nor black like the negroes, but red, or copper colored. They had jet black eyes and hair. Their faces were melancholy, and their bodies lithe and graceful; the most of them went naked, or dressed in skins, and adorned themselves with many things, such as feathers, bones, bears' claws, and the scalps of their enemies. The women, or squaws, cut wood for camp-fires, set up tents, and tended corn; and the warriors hunted, or went on the warpath to their enemies.

The red men had no beasts of burden; they made



The red men

their way through the forests on foot, or glided down the streams in birch-bark canoes. They were skilled in woodcraft; and though mild and hospitable in peace, they were cruel and revengeful in war.

They were divided into many nations. The Algonquins lived in wigwams, or tents made of skins.

They roamed with cunning stealth through the tangled forests bordering the Great Lakes, the Ohio, and the Atlantic Coast as far south as the James River.

And in their midst, and surrounded by them like lions in a jungle of tigers, were the Iroquois, or Five Nations, who were so brave and intelligent that all the other nations



PAPOOSE

The Algonquins



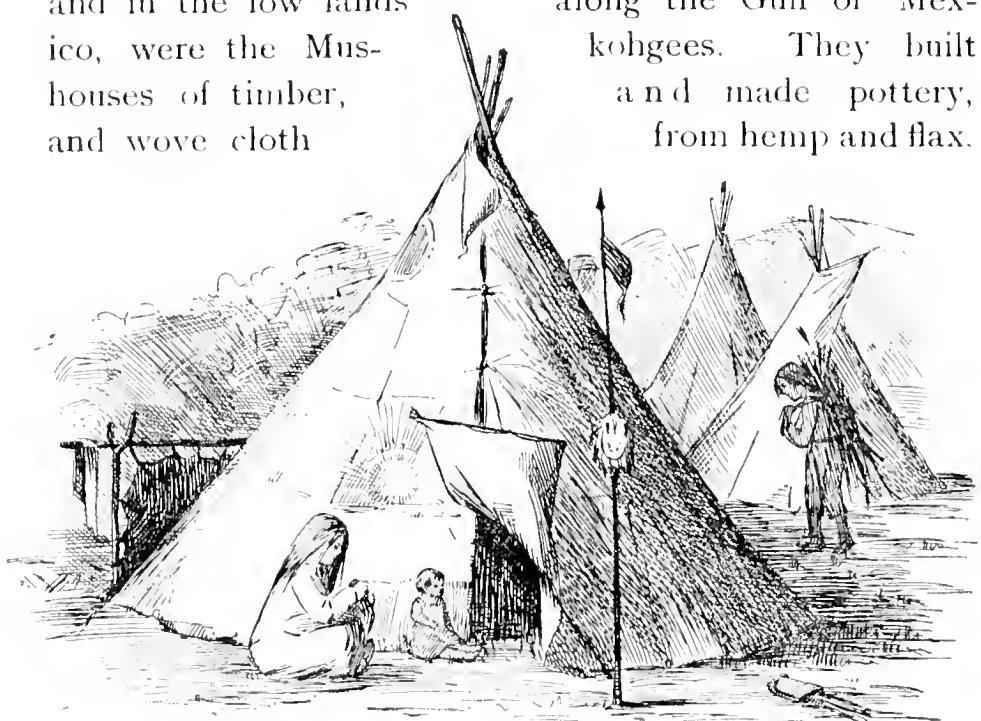
The Iroquois

feared them. The Five Nations were closely united for warfare, and dwelt in "long houses" made of bark, which were grouped in villages thickly planted from the Hudson River to Lakes Ontario and Erie.

South of the Algonquins were the Cherokees and the Tuscaroras, who were cousins of the Iroquois

The Muskohgees

Still farther south, among the Blue Ridge Mountains and in the low lands along the Gulf of Mexico, were the Mus-houses of timber, kohgees. They built and wove cloth and made pottery, from hemp and flax.



INDIAN WIGWAM

The Dakotas and Comanches

West of the Mississippi, the great "Father of Waters," lived the Dakotas and the Comanches.

Beyond the Rocky Mountains were the Shoshones and other scattered nations along the coast.

The Aztecs and Toltecs

In Mexico and Peru lived the Aztecs and the Toltecs, who were mild and gentle. They founded cities with temples and aqueducts, and carried on mining and manufacturing, and dug canals, and reveled in gardens adorned with statues and fountains.

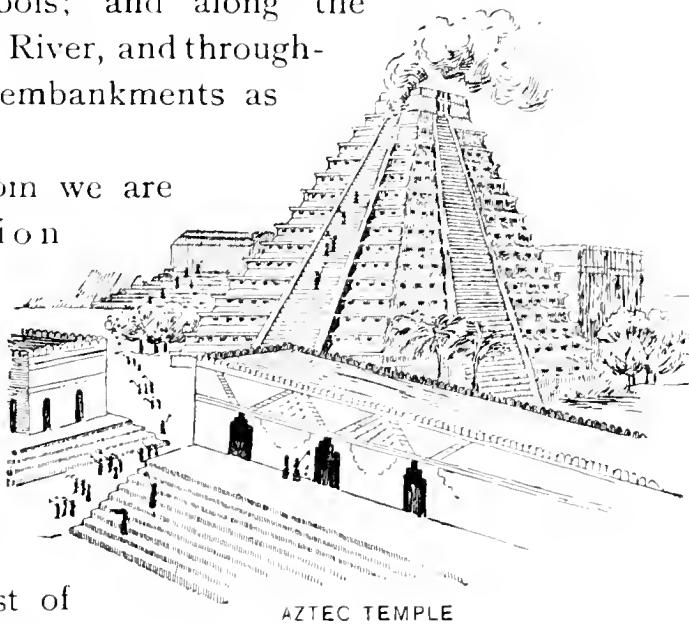
Both in North and in South America there were mounds of vast length and height, which seemed to be of great antiquity. Some of these were evidently intended for religious symbols; and along the Great Lakes, the Mississippi River, and throughout the Ohio valley were embankments as if for defense.

But the red men of whom we are speaking had no tradition of the people who constructed these earth works.

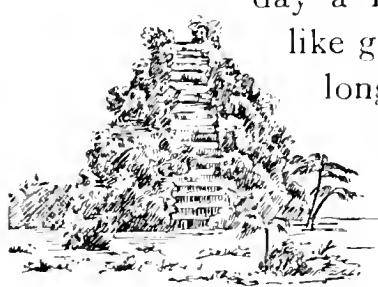
All of the tribes in the two great western continents were superstitious in religion. Some worshiped the sun, but most of them adored a Great Spirit who ruled over nature and punished the bad, or rewarded those who sought him in fasting and prayer. Their priests, or medicine men, were skilled in the art of healing the sick, and claimed to exorcise evil spirits through weird incantations.

Some of the tribes cherished a dim tradition that one day a Fair God would appear, with hair like gold and eyes blue as the sky. They longed for the coming of the white man; then the game in the forest, and the fish in the river, and the corn in the good mother earth would be multiplied; and the pipe of peace would be smoked by all the tribes.

*Traditions of
white men*



AZTEC TEMPLE

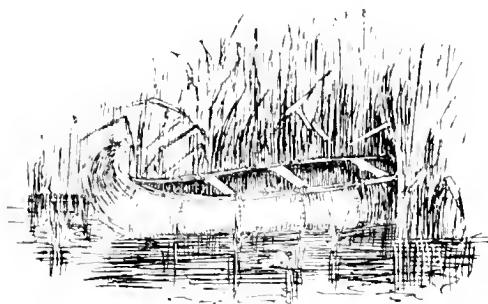


A MOUND IN MEXICO

It is of some such vague tradition that our poet Longfellow sings in the vision of Hiawatha; though, alas for

his people, the Indian seer realized what the coming of the palefaces would really mean :—

“ Only Hiawatha laughed not,
But he gravely spoke and answered :
“ ‘ I have seen it in a vision,
Seen the great canoe with pinions,
Seen the people with white faces,
Seen the coming of this bearded
People of the wooden vessel
From the region of the morning.—
“ ‘ I beheld, too, in that vision
All the secrets of the future;
Of the distant days that shall be
I beheld the westward marches
Of the unknown, crowded nations.
All the land was full of people,
Restless, struggling, toiling, striving,
Speaking many tongues, yet feeling
But one heart beat in their bosoms.
In the woodlands rang their axes,
Smoked their towns in all the valleys,
Over all the lakes and rivers
Rushed their great canoes of thunder.’ ”



INTRODUCTION. 1450-1492

“The New World” (Unknown)	North Continent	Red Men	Eskimos	Algonquins	Iroquois	Scattered Na- tions	Muskhogees	Dakotas	Comanches	Shoshones	Aztecs etc.	Seminoles Creeks Choctaws Chickasaws	Five Nations	etc.	Senecas Cayugas Onondagas Oneidas Mohawks	Hurons Eries Cherokees Tuscaroras	Mohegans Pequods Narragansetts Wampanoags Massachusetts Delawares Powhatans Shawnees Lenni Lenapes	etc.	“Sea of Darkness”	Traditional	Known to Europeans	“The Old World”	Most of Europe North Coast of Africa West Portion of Asia																										
South Continent		Red Men																																															
Antiquities of the Mound-builders																																																	
Ruins of a more Ancient People																																																	



CHAPTER II

PILOTS AND PIONEERS

1454

Christopher Columbus goes to sea

Sir John Mandeville

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS spent his early years in Genoa, on the west coast of Italy. It is said that he went to sea at the age of fourteen, and visited most of the ports of Europe and Africa while still very young. Many things which he saw and heard set him to thinking that there was much yet to learn in the world. He read an old book written by Sir John Mandeville, a famous English traveler, who said that he knew the earth was round instead of flat, and that by sailing far enough a man might reach the point from which he started.

And while Columbus made charts for a scanty living in Lisbon, he studied more and more the problems of the unknown seas. He married a Portuguese lady whose father was a famous navigator and had many charts, and the more Columbus studied these charts, the more he was convinced that Sir John was right. He talked

with Toscanelli, a famous Florentine astronomer, who said that he believed it possible to reach Asia by way of the Atlantic Ocean.



CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

About 1436-1506

1474
Toscanelli sends
a map to
Columbus

Toscanelli was so much pleased with the Genoese chart maker that he sent him a map with Japan and the Spice Islands marked about where Mexico is.

Columbus made a voyage to Iceland, and it is thought that while he was there he learned that in the year 1000, Leif, the son of Eric the Red, sailed west from Greenland to lands abounding in vines and trees much larger and finer than any ever before seen.

At last he resolved to hazard a voyage into the Sea of Darkness. He sought audience with King John of Portugal, and pleaded for ships to sail to India by way of the West.

The shrewd monarch had some faith in the theory of the Genoese, but, thinking he demanded too great reward for his services, he sent out his own pilots secretly. The sailors soon returned, however, scoffing at Columbus as a "dreamer of dreams."

Disgusted with the treachery of John of Portugal, Columbus sought the favor of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. The king was busy driving the Moors from his realm, and had then neither time nor money to devote to such an uncertain enterprise. Columbus joined the Spanish army, and when the vic-

1000
Leif Ericson
finds new lands
in the West



VIKING SHIP

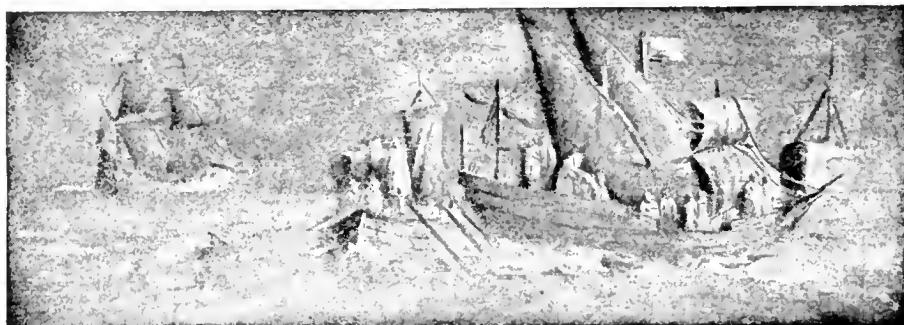
1484
Columbus seeks
the favor of
Ferdinand and
Isabella of Spain

1492
The *Pinta*, the
Niña, and the
Santa María
sail from Spain
(August 3)

torious war was over, three ships, the *Pinta*, the *Niña*, and the *Santa María* were made ready for his purpose.

They were frail barks, hardly larger than a fishing smack of to-day, and, as they lifted anchor in the harbor of Palos, the sailors felt they were daring much to attempt such a voyage.

Columbus steered first to the Canary Islands and then due west into the unknown waters, whence none who had gone had ever returned. He calmed the mutinous crew by his patience and courage, and kept steadily on in his course until a flock of land birds guided him to the



LANDING OF COLUMBUS

The Discovery
of America by
Christopher
Columbus
(October 12)

Columbus names
the natives
"Indians"

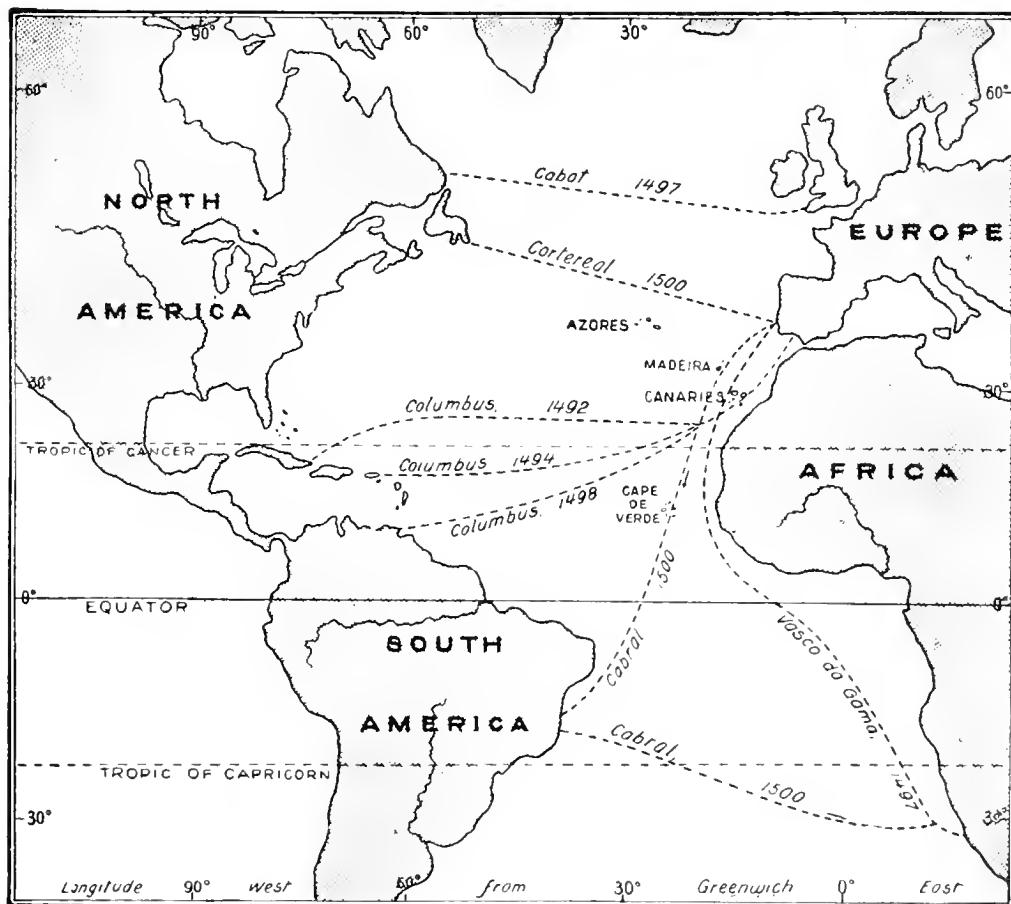
southwesterly direction, and at dawn on the 12th day of October, 1492, he landed in the New World. He shook out the silken banner of Spain, and took possession of the country, which he called San Salvador, from the name of the day in the Spanish calendar.

He sailed among the islands now known as the Bahamas, and was everywhere received with delight by the natives, whom he called "Indians" because he thought he had found India.

He coasted along Cuba and landed on Haiti, which he called Hispaniola, or Little Spain; and there, on the Bay of Caraola, he erected a fort out of the timbers of the *Santa María*, which had gone to pieces on a reef.

1493
He returns to
Spain

Then leaving forty men on the island, with food enough to last a year, he set sail for home, carrying several natives and many curious and beautiful plants, birds, and animals as proof of his discoveries. He reached Spain in March.¹



Ferdinand and Isabella were amazed and delighted when they heard of the new land of beauty and song. They doubted not that a short way had been found to the rich treasures of India, and the islands were called the West Indies because they were reached by sailing west.

¹ See Appendix, page 406.

His later voyages

When Columbus returned to Hispaniola, he found his colony destroyed. He established another colony in Haiti, and left his brother Diego in command.

Columbus made two more voyages, during which he touched the mainland of South America near the mouth of the Orinoco River, and explored the south side of the Caribbean Sea.

Meantime his colony in the West Indies repudiated him. He returned from his fourth voyage a broken-hearted sailor, whose queen was dead and whose king was ungrateful. He had not found the treasure he sought, yet to the day of his death Christopher Columbus believed he had discovered the east coast of India.

While it was thought that at last a new way to Asia had been found, kings vied with one another in sending expeditions to the West.

According to the laws of the time, if a mariner hoisted a flag on an unknown shore, or if he only sighted new land from afar, it belonged to his king.

When John Cabot, five years after the first voyage of Columbus, touched the coast of Labrador, he set up the flag of England; and when in the following year his son Sebastian coasted farther south, King Henry VII laid claim to North America from Labrador to Albemarle Sound.

1497-98
John and
Sebastian Cabot
explore from
Labrador to
Albemarle Sound

Verrazzano coasts
from Cape
Hatteras to
Newfoundland
New France

A few years later Verrazzano coasted in a French vessel from Cape Hatteras to Newfoundland, and King Francis I named the country New France.

Soon fishing smacks from both England and France followed the ships of the Cabots to Newfoundland. The hardy fishermen caught and dried vast quantities of cod, and hurried back to sell them in all the ports of Europe. But they said that the winters were very severe, and for many years both England and France neglected their lands in America.

Cortereal sailed from Portugal to explore the coast of North America, and Cabral sighted what is now Brazil. The following year Americus Vespucci, in Portuguese ships, explored the coast of South America as far south as the La Plata River, and secured Brazil to Portugal.

1501
Americus Vespucci explores the coast of South America

It was now known that the land thought to be an island was really a great continent, and people began to talk of the continent of Americus.

1513
Balboa and Magellan on the Pacific Ocean

Then Balboa, the Spaniard, crossed the Isthmus of Darien, and beheld a new ocean, which he called the South Sea; but, a few years later, Magellan, the Portuguese, called it the Pacific as he sailed over its peaceful waters with a Spanish fleet, on his way around the world.

1512
Ponce de Leon reaches Florida

Ponce de Leon, the Spanish governor of Porto Rico, sailed northwest while seeking the Fountain of Youth. He reached the mainland on Easter Sunday, and called the country Florida, because that day was *Pascua Florida* in the calendar.

1520
De Ayllon in South Carolina

De Ayllon, in quest of slaves, was driven by a storm to the coast of South Carolina, and loaded his ships with the natives who had fed him in their tents.

1519
Cortez in Mexico

Hernando Cortez landed in Mexico,¹ and marching to the capital, imprisoned King Montezuma, and made the empire of the Aztecs a Spanish province. A few years later Pizarro conquered Peru, and from these two provinces pearls and precious metals poured into the "Golden Tower" of Seville, until king, nobles, and merchant navigators were mad for gain.

1519
Pizarro in Peru

Thousands perished seeking for gold. De Narvaez and four hundred horsemen and footmen in search of rich cities, landed at Apalachee Bay. They wandered westward, fighting hunger and the natives, until, after eight years of suffering, only four of the party lived to

1528
De Narvaez lands at Apalachee Bay

¹ Read Prescott's "Mexico."

1540

Coronado searches
or the "Seven
Cities of Cibola"

reach Culiacan, a Spanish settlement on the west coast of Mexico. The Spanish governor of Mexico, hearing of the wonderful country through which they had passed, sent out exploring parties. Coronado, with over a thousand men, marched into New Mexico, and then wandered eastward in search of seven fabled cities. It is thought that in his vain quest he reached the Republican Valley in Nebraska.

1537

De Soto sets sail
from Spain

Meantime Fernando de Soto was made governor of Cuba and Florida. With six hundred Castilian nobles

he set out from Spain in high hopes of finding treasure. On reaching America he left his beautiful wife in charge of affairs in Cuba, and sailed with his army to Florida.



FERNANDO DE SOTO

About 1496-1542

1542

Death of De Soto

He landed at Tampa Bay, and after wandering through the marshes and forests north of the Gulf of Mexico, he crossed the Mississippi and pushed on into what is now the State of Arkansas; then turning back, he sickened and died, and was buried under the waves of the great river he had found. The survivors built boats, and reached at last a Spanish settlement in Mexico by way of the gulf.

Thus, in one expedition after another, the Spaniards failed to find gold in what is now the United States; and they made no permanent settlement there until Pedro Menendez reached Florida. Menendez brought two thousand five hundred sailors, soldiers, common laborers, and black-robed priests, who laid the foundation of St. Augustine.

This settlement was made in Florida to prevent the French from securing territory claimed by the Spanish.

Some Frenchmen, led by John Ribaut, had landed in a region farther north, which they called Carolina in

1505

St. Augustine
founded by
Pedro Menendez

1502

John Ribaut's
colony in Carolina

honor of Charles IX, king of France, and built Port Royal; famine had soon reduced them to such extremes, however, that the few who survived returned home. Other Frenchmen, under Laudonnière, soon built a fort on the St. John's River, which they called Fort Carolina. And while the Spaniards were building the stout walls of St. Augustine, the men of Fort Carolina began an expedition against them. A storm at sea arose, and, while the French ships were scattered, Menendez attacked

1564
Laudonnière's
colony on the
St. John's River



BURIAL OF DE SOTO

Fort Carolina, putting men, women, and children to death. Then, while Menendez was absent in Spain, Dominic de Gourgues, a Frenchman, sailed with a small fleet to St. Augustine, and killed or imprisoned all the inhabitants. Menendez returned to St. Augustine with more colonists, and strengthened the port.

De Gourgues
attacks
St. Augustine

Thus Spain had won by actual settlement the West Indies, Mexico, Florida, and all of South America except Brazil, which was claimed by the Portuguese.

CHAPTER III

PILOTS AND PIONEERS (CONTINUED)

1534
Jacques Cartier
on the
St. Lawrence

THE success of Spain in founding colonies in the New World induced France to become more zealous in her plans for settlements there. On a fair day in August Jacques Cartier sailed up the St. Lawrence, and planted the lilies of France on its green banks. The following year he made treaties with the natives, and named a lofty hill Mont Real, on which an Indian village stood.

154

A few years afterward, Cartier built a fort near the site of Quebec; but the bands of criminals whom he had brought from the jails to secure it, sailed back to France the following spring. More than a half century passed before the French again attempted to colonize America. Then De Monts obtained a grant of all the territory between the sites of Montreal and Philadelphia. He called his province Acadia, and founded Port Royal on the west coast of what is now Nova Scotia. Three years later Champlain and some traders built rude huts and planted orchards below the stockade fort at Quebec. And so the reign of France began in America.

1605

De Monts founds
Port Royal in
Nova Scotia

1608

Champlain founds
Quebec

Henry Hudson's
voyage

1613

The Dutch make a
settlement on
Manhattan Island

The year following the founding of Quebec, Henry Hudson, an English pilot in the service of Holland, reached the coast of Maine. Sailing as far south as Cape Cod, he entered Delaware Bay; then steering north along the Jersey shore, he ascended the beautiful river which bears his name. The Dutch then laid claim to all the country drained by the Delaware and Hudson Rivers in spite of the discoveries made by the English and the French. They called the region New Netherlands, and built cabins on Manhattan Island to carry on

the fur trade with the Indians, and then established Fort Nassau, on the Hudson, near the site of Albany.

When Philip, of Spain, came to England to marry Queen Mary, his Spanish grandees told marvelous tales of the treasure found in America. A new interest was aroused in the discovery of the Cabots, and when Queen Elizabeth ascended the throne, adventurers were eager to scour the seas in her service. No one was more anxious for wealth and renown than the young queen herself, and soon vessels of all shapes and sizes were moored in the harbors of England.

Elizabeth sent Sir Martin Frobisher to America to search for gold, and a northwest passage to India ; but he found no passage, and brought back glittering mica instead of gold.

The queen frowned at no seaman who carried Spanish doubloons in his pockets, and so Francis Drake, a bold rover, who "hated nothing so much as idleness," sailed over the Spanish Main.

He passed through the Strait of Magellan, loaded his ship with plunder from the harbors of the west coast of South America, and, fearing the Spanish fleet to the south, steered north through the Pacific Ocean in search of a passage home.

When he reached the coast of Oregon, he gave up the quest, and, turning south for a harbor, landed on the coast of California. He named the land New Albion, and, sailing west through southern waters, reached England, at last, by way of the Cape of Good Hope. The brave sea rover had thus navigated around the globe; he was knighted by the queen; and, as Sir Francis Drake, was made the hero of many a story and song.

Then Sir Humphrey Gilbert sailed away with five ships to found a colony. He landed in Newfoundland;

1554

1570

Martin Frobisher
searches for a
northwest passage
to India

1577

Francis Drake sets
out on a voyage

1578

1583

Sir Humphrey
Gilbert attempts to
found a colony in
Newfoundland

Sir Walter Raleigh



SIR WALTER RALEIGH
1552-1618

1584

The expedition of
Captains Amidas
and Barlow

but the climate was cold, and his men refused to stay. On the return voyage his own ship went down in a storm, and there was mourning throughout all England for that most gentle knight of the court.

Now Sir Humphrey's half-brother, young Walter Raleigh, "with the soul of a sea-king, and the brain of a statesman," had been over in France to serve in the wars. While there, he heard much of Carolina, where the French Huguenots had attempted a settlement,— how "huge stalks with hanging ears of corn grew from a single grain, how deep in the earth the potatoes ripened their fruit, and how broad leaves of tobacco made a fragrant powder to be smoked through a pipe."

Raleigh was a favorite with the queen, and when he declared the lands to the south were hers by reason of the discovery of the Cabots, she encouraged him to fit out a fleet to explore them. He sent two small vessels to America under Captains Amidas and Barlow. In the month of July these bold seamen cast anchor off the shores of Carolina, and took possession in the name of the queen of England. Then they hastened back home to tell of "gentle natives who dwelt on islands fringed with verdure, with clambering vines and sedgy lakes, where flocks of birds rose like an army at the discharge of a gun."

Elizabeth, the "Virgin Queen," was delighted with their report, and named the enchanting regions Virginia. Raleigh sent over a colony the following year to the island of Roanoke. The adventurers soon aroused the jealousy of the Indians, and were rescued from death by Sir Francis Drake who chanced to pass with a fleet.

1585

Raleigh sends
Ralph Lane with a
colony to Roanoke
Island

1587

Raleigh's second
colony under
John White

Raleigh sent over a second colony to Virginia in command of John White. The men, with their wives and children, landed on Roanoke Island, and began to build houses for a permanent settlement.

Governor White soon after sailed back to England for supplies. He was detained there for three years by the Spanish war, and when he returned to Roanoke, the colony had disappeared. No one ever knew what became of it.

Among those who were lost was White's little granddaughter, Virginia Dare, the first English child born in America.

Before the close of the century, Sir Walter Raleigh had sent no less than seven expeditions to Virginia. His emigrants went down in storms or perished by famine or were killed with the scalping knife.

"I shall yet live to see Virginia an English nation," said the dauntless courtier, who had almost exhausted his fortune.

After the war with Spain was over, the English armies disbanded. Many soldiers who had served Elizabeth by land and sea found nothing to do but seek their fortunes in the New World. When James I came to the throne, a number of knights, gentlemen, and merchants formed themselves into two companies, and applied for permission to plant colonies in America. To the London Company the king gave the land from about Cape Fear River to the Rappahannock, and to the Plymouth Company that from about the mouth of the Hudson River to Nova Scotia. Each grant extended one hundred miles to the west from the coast. The land lying between the Rappahannock and the Hudson was to be held in common, but neither colony was permitted to make a settlement within a hundred miles of the other. These two grants came to be known as North Virginia and South Virginia.

1606

Royal grants to the
London and
Plymouth
Companies

Councils in England, appointed by the king, were to make laws for the settlements, and local councils, appointed by the councils in England, were to see that the laws were obeyed. The king might veto any law; so that really everything began and ended with the king, who was to receive one fifth of all the precious metals found.

It was believed that America was about half as wide as it is, and the king urged the companies to seek a passage toward the west which would lead to the Pacific Ocean.

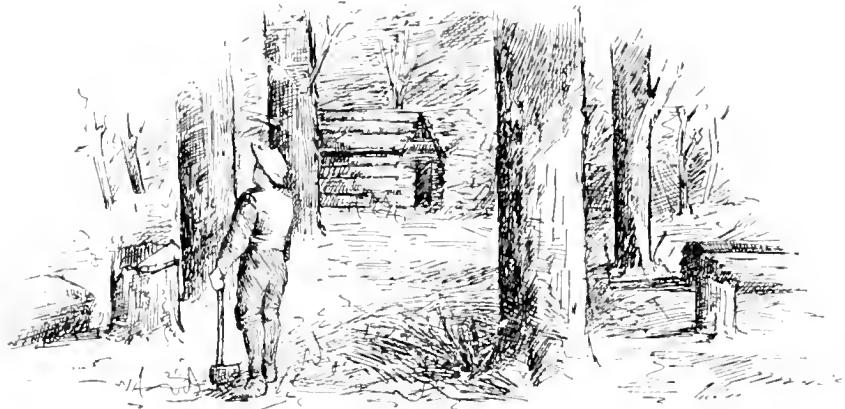
The very next year the London Company sent three well-equipped vessels to Roanoke Island under command of Captain Christopher Newport. Storms carried them beyond the island into the beautiful Chesapeake Bay, the "Mother of Waters." As the voyagers passed up the bay, they named the headlands Cape Charles and Cape Henry, after the young princes. A point in deep water where the ships found anchor they named Point Comfort, and the silvery river, into which they soon sailed, was called the James.

At fifty miles from the mouth of the James the colonists cableled their ships to the overhanging trees, and in the budding month of May, 1607, they founded Jamestown, the oldest English settlement in America.

1607
The London
Company sends
Captain Christopher
Newport to South
Virginia with settlers

The founding of
Jamestown (May 23)

The Earliest Discoverers	Spanish	Christopher Columbus Magellan
	English	John and Sebastian Cabot
	French	Verrazzano
	Portuguese	Cortereal Cabral Americus Vespuceius
	Spanish	Balboa Ponce de Leon De Ayllon Cortez De Narvaez De Soto Menendez
The Early Explorers	French	Cartier John Ribaut Laudomière Champlain De Monts
	Dutch	Henry Hudson
	English	Martin Frobisher Francis Drake Walter Raleigh The London Company The Plymouth Company
	Spanish	St. Augustine Santa Fé Missions
	French	Port Royal Quebec Missions
Settlements	Dutch	Manhattan Fort Nassau
	English	Jamestown



THE EPOCH OF SETTLEMENT
AND COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT
1613-1775

CHAPTER IV

THE OLDEST ENGLISH SETTLEMENT IN AMERICA

1607-1625

1607
The colony at
Jamestown under
the control of the
Council

UNDER a sail spread from tree to tree, with logs for benches, the men of Jamestown read the service of the English Church. Then they erected a fort, with a palisade fence, and built a few log houses. But the settlers did not prosper, for they hunted gold instead of planting corn. The ship's stores gave out, and, until Captain Newport might bring supplies from England, they lived on the crabs and sturgeon from the river. Pestilence in the marshes and Indians in the forests thinned the ranks so that fifty of the hundred and five were dead, and those yet living were quite in despair when John Smith came to the rescue.

Captain John Smith Now the name Smith, even in that day, was common enough, but this particular Smith was a very uncommon man. Before he was thirteen years old, his father died, and he ran off to sea. He fought the Spaniards and then the Turks.

While sailing in the Mediterranean, he was cast like Jonah to the whales by a company of pilgrims on their

way to the Holy Land, but he swam ashore in time to accomplish wonderful feats-at-arms in Hungary. He became a cupbearer to a Tartar prince, then a slave of slaves on the Black Sea. At last, escaping from bondage, he returned to England just in time to sail for America in a ship of the London Company.

A man of such renown as Captain Smith was not to be ignored. The company made him a member of the Colonial Council. The other members of the council became jealous of him, however, and he was shamefully ignored at Jamestown, until death stared the whole colony in the face. Then it was that Captain John Smith earned the name of the "Father of Virginia."

He established trade with the Indians, built houses, and set the idle to work cutting a cargo of wainscot and clapboards to be exchanged in England for food. By his own industry and courage he inspired all with new hope. He led an expedition in search of the Pacific Ocean, was seized by the Indians, and had many adventures during his captivity. He showed the ignorant natives his pocket compass, and explained, as well as he could, that the earth was round, and that the sun "did chase right about the earth continually." He whittled dolls for the papposes, and made himself so popular that he went about for several weeks clad in raccoon skins as a badge of royalty; but for all that he was doomed to death until rescued by the gentle Pocahontas, daughter of the chief, Powhatan. He returned to the colony laden with corn just in time to prevent the survivors from sailing away to Europe. Smith continued to explore

The "Father of
Virginia"



The gentle
Pocahontas

Captain Newport
brings more colonists

the coast, always looking for a passage to India, and kept the colony busy until more settlers came, under Captain Newport.¹

The newcomers brought hindrance instead of help. They washed the sands of the river for gold while they ate up the stores. More colonists came, under Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers. They were mere adventurers, or convicts from the jails, or ruffians picked up on the streets of London. "When you send again," wrote Smith to the Company, "I entreat you rather send diggers of trees' roots well provided than a thousand such as we have."

While Smith was president of the Colonial Council, his letters to the London Company were full of good advice, and his maps of the country correct. He was conceited and boastful; but he managed affairs so well that in two years the colony numbered over five hundred. About thirty acres were in corn, and many houses were built. The little commonwealth was prospering, when Smith was wounded by an explosion of gunpowder, and returned to England for medical aid. Then storms gathered about the settlement. A mutiny broke out. Some, turning pirates, sailed off with the ships. Indians killed others. Disease and famine stared the remainder in the face. By spring only sixty remained at Jamestown; these made pinnaces to return home, and were sailing down the James, when they met Lord Delaware with three well-manned ships.

Meanwhile there had been changes in the London Company's grant.

Two years after Jamestown was founded, a second charter for South Virginia had been given by King James.

1610
Smith returns to
England

1609-10
The starving time

1609
The second charter
of the London
Company extends
the grant from "sea
to sea"

¹ Read Eggleston's "Beginners of a Nation."

The territory was increased so that the company owned all the land two hundred miles north and two hundred miles south of Old Point Comfort, "stretching from sea to sea, west and northwest."

The powers vested in the king were transferred to a supreme council chosen by the shareholders themselves.

Lord Delaware was made governor for life by the council, and when he came to Jamestown, he brought liveried servants with him, and lived in grand style. He was kind, yet firm, and began each day with services in the little church, which was garlanded with wild flowers.

When ill health forced Lord Delaware to return home, Sir Thomas Dale became the governor of South Virginia. More immigrants came over, bringing cattle, and implements for all kinds of labor. The newcomers were for the most part criminals from the jails, and it was necessary to make very severe laws to control them. Martial law was set up, and the worst of the men were hanged without mercy.

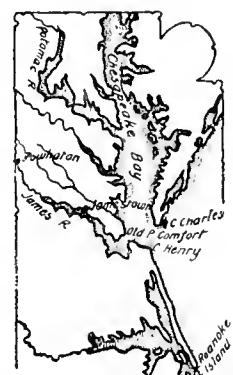
Thus far, the colonists had eaten from the "common kettle;" that is, they had held their lands in common. Sir Thomas gave each man a few acres for his own orchard and garden, and required of each a tax of two barrels and a half of corn for the public granary. Thus the Virginians became freeholders, and began to work in earnest.

When they found that tobacco was in demand in England, they cultivated it more and more until its green leaves were everywhere, even in the public squares, and along the streets of the town. Thrifty tenants on English estates heard of the wonderful profits in tobacco, and sailed to Virginia to secure plantations. So that eleven years from the founding of Jamestown there were four thousand settlers in South Virginia.

1610

Lord Delaware the first governor of Virginia

Sir Thomas Dale introduces martial law



The Virginians become freeholders

The cultivation of tobacco

1618

Four thousand settlers in South Virginia

Indented servants

1610

Negro slaves

Most of the work was done by indented servants. These were unfortunate men and boys from the prisons and streets of London, who were hired out until the cost of passage had been paid. In 1619 a Dutch man-of-war sailed up the James with twenty negroes to sell in exchange for tobacco. Thus began in the English colonies that great African shadow which was one day to threaten the welfare of the whole United States.



Meantime Powhatan, chief of forty Indian clans, who dwelt near the site of Richmond, was invested with a crown as a vassal of King James. Then his beautiful daughter, Pocahontas, was baptized, and married to John Rolfe. These events helped cement friendship with the natives; but the marriage displeased King James. He said it was a bold act for a commoner to wed a princess of royal blood. He feared Rolfe might set up claims to Virginia. When the dusky bride went to London, she was received at court, and treated with much respect.

Peace with the Indians and profit from the tobacco crops caused still greater immigration to the "empire of Powhatan." In one year over twelve hundred persons landed in Jamestown. Among them were many agreeable young women. Now, there had been very few wives in Jamestown, and the desire for homes was so great that much rivalry was incurred in courting these new arrivals. It is said that it was often so impossible for a gentle Virginia maid to refuse her suitors that she

POCAHONTAS

1620
Increased immigration to Virginia

would promise herself to more than one. This caused bitter disputes. In the end the governor was forced to issue a proclamation that "what woman soever should use any word or speech tending to a contract of marriage to two several persons at one time should undergo corporal punishment or be fined (if a person of quality)."

While this law was probably necessary, there were many others which were too severe. Martial law became intolerable to the thrifty freemen. They had expected to exercise all the political rights enjoyed in the mother country.

In spite of oppressive kings, who tried to restrict their liberties, the towns and counties of England elected their own representatives to sit in the House of Commons to help make the laws, and neither the king nor the lords could put a tax on the people without their consent. Virginians declared they should enjoy the privileges of English subjects.

The London Company had now a thousand members, among them some of the richest and most powerful men in England, who voted to repeal the cruel martial laws of Virginia.

Then, that the planters "might have a hande in the governing of themselves," it was granted that a "general assemblie shoulde be helde yearly once, whereat were to be present the governor and councill with two burgesses from each plantation, freely to be elected by the inhabitants thereof; this assemblie to have power to make and ordaine whatsoever laws and orders shoulde by them be thought good and profitable for their subsistance."

Twenty-two delegates from eleven plantations, or "boroughs," assembled in the little church at Jamestown with Governor Yeardley and his council. One of the burgesses was the great-grandfather of Thomas

The first courtships

The freemen
demand privileges

London Company
repeals the
martial law

1619

The House of
Burgesses meets
at Jamestown
July 30

trial by jury, the
Church of England
confirmed, and
measures taken to
found a university

Jefferson, who, more than a hundred and fifty years later on, wrote the Declaration of Independence for the whole American people.

This House of Burgesses gave trial by jury, confirmed the Church of England as the church of Virginia, and compelled attendance at its services. They adopted measures toward erecting a university to educate the youth, and enacted many good laws.

Now for several years the wits in the coffee houses and the playwrights in the theaters of London had made jests of the Virginians. "Why, man," said one, "all their dripping pans are pure gold, and as for rubies and diamonds, they go forth on holidays and gather 'em in by the seashore to hang on their children's coats and stick in their children's caps as commonly as our own children wear groats with holes in 'em."

It was very true that rumors of gold mines had brought most of the earlier settlers to Virginia. But rumors of gold were no longer necessary to induce people to cross the sea. The hope of winning free homes of their own attracted younger sons of noble families, and sturdy farmers, the yeomen of England, who had always rented land instead of owning it; and thus men of thrift and intelligence took the place of bold adventurers. There was peace and plenty in the reed-thatched huts of Jamestown, and plantations spread out for miles on both sides of the James River.

The king quarrelled with the London Company because its members opposed some of his tyrannical acts in Parliament. He grew jealous of their prosperity, and declared "if they kept on declaring their right to transport the king's subjects to Virginia, they might in time depopulate the realm, and transfer the whole English nation to the dominion of the company." He brought

Free homes in
Virginia attract a
better class of
settlers

against the corporation the charge of mismanagement. The timid courts sided with the king, and the charter of the company was taken away. When the royal commissioners demanded the colonial records of the Virginians, they refused to surrender them; and when the clerk gave them up for a bribe, the burgesses stood him in the pillory, and cut off an ear for it.

Virginia became a royal province. King James died before he had completed a new set of laws for the colony. His successor, Charles I, was even more tyrannical than his father, but he was so busy with affairs in England that he contented himself with sending a royal governor to Virginia; and the House of Burgesses continued to sit annually and make its own laws.

1624

The London Company loses its charter

Virginia becomes a royal province

1625

Charles I ascends the throne

CHAPTER V

THE CAVALIERS

1625-1700

It was plain that Charles would abolish the Assembly of Virginia if he ever had the time; for he soon dissolved Parliament, and tried to manage his kingdom alone.

When he found that he could not force taxes from his British subjects without the House of Commons, he summoned Parliament to meet again. After the Commoners assembled, they would not adjourn, and held a "long Parliament" for more than twelve years. Two parties were formed in England, the Cavaliers, who wore long curling locks, and the Puritans, or "Roundheads," as they were sometimes called from the way they cropped off their hair.

King Charles dissolves Parliament

1640-1653

The "long Parliament"

Cavaliers and
Roundheads

1649
Charles I beheaded

1648
Trade on the James

The Cavaliers

The "Old
Dominion"

1660
Charles II ascends
the throne

There was a bitter struggle between the Cavaliers, who were friends of the king, and the Roundheads, who were his enemies.

At last, Parliament found Charles I guilty of treason. He was beheaded. England became a protectorate with Oliver Cromwell, the leader of the Roundheads, as protector.

While these exciting events were taking place in the motherland, the Virginians continued to prosper.

One Christmas day there were twelve merchant ships from England, twelve from Holland, and seven from the colonies of North Virginia trading in the James.

Many Cavaliers, fleeing from the persecution of Cromwell, were made welcome in South Virginia. Among them were the ancestors of George Washington and other famous Americans.

They bought large estates, and laid out plantations along the beautiful rivers. More elegance crept into society with the coming of these courtiers. In gold-laced coats they sailed in barges to visit their neighbors, or cantered across country, following the hounds; they introduced cockfighting, and dueling with pistols and swords, after the English fashion. They even hoped that young Prince Charles would one day land at Jamestown to proclaim himself king of Virginia; and after Charles became king of England, he caused the arms of Virginia to be quartered with those of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

The loyal province was called the "Old Dominion," and even to-day this name is sometimes used for Virginia.

The Cavaliers rejoiced greatly, when, at the downfall of the Cromwells, Charles II was restored to his own. But he soon rewarded their devotion by depriving

them of their privileges, and dividing up their land among court favorites, as if it were a barren waste.

While the anger of the people at this kingly folly was at its height, Indians fell upon the settlements, massacring and carrying many captives away.

Governor Berkeley did not call his militia out to attack the dusky foes, and was accused of allowing the massacre rather than spoil his fur trade. But the real reason of his hesitation to call for military aid was his fear that, when the troops had conquered the Indians, they might turn their arms against him and his friends.

By this time three distinct classes of people lived in Virginia ; the aristocrats, or large land owners, the negro slaves, and the "poor whites." The negroes numbered almost a thousand, and were hurried more and more into market by the Royal African Company of which the king himself was a member. Sometimes Governor Berkeley feared an uprising of the negroes. Yet it was the "poor whites" that he feared most. Many of the poor whites had been indentured servants. These, as we have seen, were mostly men from the prisons, or very needy persons who worked out the cost of their passage ; but it was such a profitable business to send indentured servants to Virginia that the young and friendless were often stolen and stowed away in the holds of the west-bound ships. The terror of such a fate became so great among the poorer classes of England that at one time forty children fled from a town, and hid till the ships had left port. Wicked judges even disgraced the courts by convicting innocent persons, and selling them like merchandise. After an indentured servant finished his term of labor, he became a freeman ; but there was no place for him in Virginia. The land was already laid out in plantations. He was too proud to work in

Governor Berkeley
fears the anger of
the people

The planters, the
slaves, and the
"poor whites"

Indentured servants

the fields by the side of the slaves, so he built a rude cabin on the outskirts of some plantation, and lived apart with his family.

The climate was mild. There were oysters in the creeks, wild game in the woods, and fish in the rivers. And because they could live with very little labor the most of these outcasts were shiftless and contented. Governor Berkeley wished to keep them ignorant that they might be satisfied with their humble station.

"I thank God there are no free schools nor printing," he said, "and I hope we will not have them these hundred years."

Some intelligent "poor whites," however, who had once owned land and had been robbed of it by the king's favorites, were unhappy and restless.

After a time they found a leader. Young Nathaniel Bacon, a rich English planter, took up their cause. He was a bold and eloquent patriot, and, as a member of the council, did the oppressed freemen much service.

So it came about that when Governor Berkeley, in his fear of a popular uprising, refused to call out the people to punish the Indians, they called *themselves* out, and chose Nathaniel Bacon their captain.

Right gallantly Bacon led his band, and routed the red men completely. The governor deemed the young leader a rebel, and sent troops against him, and refused to allow him to sit as a member of the Council.

Then the freemen elected Bacon to the House of Burgesses, where he spoke boldly against the king's favorites. "How have those in authority obtained their estates?" he cried. "Have they not devoured the common treasury? What schools of learning have they promoted? What have they done to break the chain of servitude that has so long galled your necks?"

Nathaniel Bacon

1676
Bacon leads the
people against
the Indians

The freemen elect
Bacon to the House
of Burgesses

The people's champion soon won the Assembly to his views. They elected him commander of the army, repealed unjust laws, and began many needed reforms. This was just one hundred years before the declaration of independence at Philadelphia.

At last, Berkeley and his favorites were driven from Jamestown. When there seemed no other way to break up his rule, some patriots set fire to their own houses, and the first English village in America was burned to the ground. A crumbling tower is all that now remains to mark the site of old Jamestown. Williamsburg became the capital of Virginia.

Soon after this rebellion Nathaniel Bacon died of a fever, and the people had no leader. Their property was confiscated. Some of the best men of the colony were put to death. Berkeley was summoned to England to account for his cruelty to the insurgents; but he was succeeded by other governors who were very little better.

After a time almost all of the Bacon laws were repealed. Only the landholders could vote, and the disfranchised class became more and more humble.

At the close of the seventeenth century we found Virginia still a royal province. Some one has called it "Old England in the woods."

The great houses on each plantation became the centers of hospitality.

The smiling lady of the manor, in huge ruff and rustling taffeta, freely gave the best in the larder to any passing guest. There were corn cakes and bacon and strong ale or wine in abundance, and no one went hungry from the door. The king's governor, in scarlet and

Bacon's rebellion

The burning of
Jamestown

RUINS OF JAMESTOWN

Repeal of the
Bacon laws"Old England in
the woods"

odd out to the church of Williamsburg, surrounded by the crowd. Before him were grouped the Virginians who kept up their faith after the fall of the English Church of England, and stoutly resisted on their right. There was much wrangling over privilege. And as the year went by the freedom of debate in the Virginia House of Burgesses reached a height and a status which have become famous in history.¹



A SCENE IN THE HOUSE OF BURGESSES.

CHAPTER VI

THE PLYMOUTH COLONY AND NEW ENGLAND

CONTINUED

While the London Company was planting a colony in the south half of Virginia, and developing it into a commonwealth under the eye and inspection of the reigning monarch of England, the Plymouth Company, who owned the north half, had not been idle.

The company was mostly made up of the puritans

¹ See CHAP. V.—Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE STORY

the methods of production and distribution are the
freedom of both capital and labour to get where

Large white and yellowish bird seen before the gulls
which I previously collected are known. It is about
as long as the white gull but the head is much
smaller & longer & the bill is shorter than the white gull's.
The white part of the wing is larger & the black
part smaller than in the white gull. The white
part of the tail is larger & the black part smaller
than in the white gull.

The treatment of the disease must be kept as light as possible. The patient should be allowed to sit up in bed and the head should be raised. The patient should be allowed to move about as much as possible. The patient should be given a light diet consisting of soups, broths, and soft foods. The patient should be encouraged to drink plenty of fluids. The patient should be kept warm and dry. The patient should be given a light diet consisting of soups, broths, and soft foods. The patient should be encouraged to drink plenty of fluids. The patient should be kept warm and dry.

Hunt kidnaps Indians from Cape Cod

Now while Captain Smith was serving his company by noting all the places where the merchant ships might anchor, and jotting down locations for the cities of the future, Captain Hunt was serving them in a very different way. He filled his vessel with whale blubber and furs, and then, to make his voyage still more profitable, kidnapped several Indians from Cape Cod to sell as slaves in the markets of Spain. The friends who followed the ship in canoes to rescue the unhappy prisoners received a volley of shot, and returned to the shore vowed vengeance on the palefaces.

The French massacred near Massachusetts Bay

And when two French fishing smacks came sailing into Massachusetts Bay, how should the poor Indians know that they were not the English in search of more slaves? They set upon the Frenchmen, and massacred all but five, who were held in wretched bondage, and sent from one sachem to another to perform the most degrading labor.

The plague among the Indians of New England

A very short time after a terrible plague swept over the country, and thousands of Indians died, from Narragansett Bay to the Penobscot River.

The harbors of New England waiting for the white men

The few surviving warriors believed the plague was a punishment for the murder of the Frenchmen. Fear made them harmless, and the fair harbors of New England lay ready to receive the white men from the crowded cities of Europe.

Meanwhile the maps and pamphlets of Captain Smith were scattered throughout England. "Of all the four parts of the world I have seen," he said, "I would rather live in New England than anywhere else," and he showed how the French and the Dutch were making more money with fish and furs than the Spaniards with their mines in Mexico.

Fishing fleets came more and more to New England,

until the Plymouth Company, who claimed the country, appealed to the king to forbid fishing without their permission.

The fishermen off
New England
quarrel with the
Plymouth Company

But the busy fishermen said the sea was free, and one might as well try to keep them from breathing air, or drinking water, as from taking draughts of fish from the boundless waters of the New England bays. Many fishermen became merchants, and were getting so rich that they threatened to create a "codfish aristocracy," which the gentry declared would soon undermine the very foundations of polite society.

A "codfish
aristocracy"
threatened

Since the Plymouth Company could not secure the monopoly of the American trade, they delayed planting permanent colonies.

Yet a settlement was soon made in New England without the consent of king or company.

1620

There had long been trouble in England about religious observances. Some people thought there was too much ceremony in worship, and these were called Puritans¹ because they said they wished to purify the church creed.

The Puritans
in England

Queen Elizabeth wanted all her subjects to think exactly alike on religious subjects, and persecuted those in her kingdom who would not conform to the rules of the established church. But the number of Puritans increased until they became very powerful in wealth and social position.

When King James I came to the throne, the Puritans hoped to have more freedom in worship. Some of the most honored among them met His Majesty at Hampton Court with a petition for reforms in the church. But they found that James was more tyrannical than Eliza-

1604

King James at
Hampton Court
with the Puritans

¹ Read Eggleston's "Beginners of a Nation."

beth had been. He listened to what they said with impatience, and, in the end, told them to "awaie with theyre snyvelings," and declared he would make them conform to his church or "harry them out of the land, or else worse."

A little congregation of Puritans was formed at Scrooby, in the north of England. They were called Separatists because they had separated entirely from the Church of England. They were much persecuted; but when they attempted to seek homes elsewhere, James would not let them go, and kept all the ports guarded by the police. The selfish king knew very well that they were among the most industrious and intelligent subjects in his realm.

The Separatists
at Scrooby

CHAPTER VII

THE PILGRIMS

1609-1625



many trials, a band of Separatists escaped to Holland, and because they moved about from place to place they were called Pilgrims.

Finally they settled in Leyden, where they bought a tract of land, and built a church and homes for their families. There was much laughing in London about the "pinched fanatics of Leyden," but the colony increased continually.

Young men from the great universities of Cambridge

1608
The Pilgrims
at Leyden

and Oxford, many from the landed gentry, and even a few from the nobility came to Leyden.

At first, the Pilgrims were contented in the new home; but after a time they saw their children learning the Dutch language and customs, and their boys joining the Dutch army or going off on Dutch ships to earn their livelihood. It grieved them to feel that the traditions of Old England would soon be forgotten. Besides, crowded little Holland could not well give employment for all. Even her own thrifty burghers were founding colonies in America.

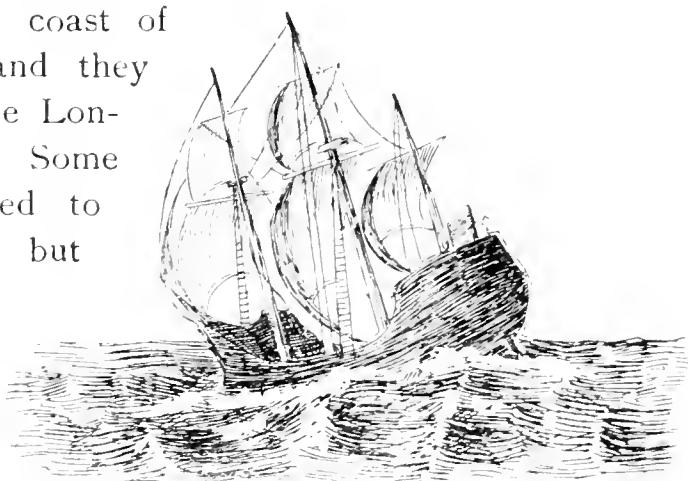
The Pilgrims began to cast about where they should go for new homes. They heard from their Dutch friends about the beautiful coast of what is now New Jersey, and they obtained permission from the London Company to settle there. Some English merchants consented to loan money for the voyage, but the terms were hard, for an enterprise prompted by religion instead of trade did not seem very promising.

In 1620 some of the wealthiest Pilgrims sold what they had, and put all the funds together to secure two ships. In July of that year as many as could boarded the *Speedwell*, and sailed from Delfshaven to Southampton to join the *Mayflower*. Those who remained behind promised with tears and prayers to join the colony later on.

Soon after the two ships started from port, the *Speedwell* sprung a leak. Both put back to shore, and, in the end, the *Mayflower* sailed away alone with ninety-eight

The Pilgrims
discontented in
Leyden

The Pilgrims decide
to seek a home in
America



THE MAYFLOWER

1620
The *Speedwell* sails
from Delfshaven

The voyage of
the *Mayflower*

passengers.¹ The leaders were Elder Brewster, William Bradford, John Carver, and Captain Miles Standish. But almost every Pilgrim was worthy to be a leader. Some one has said, "God sifted a whole nation that he might send choice grain into the wilderness." It was only the bravest and best who had been willing to leave England for Holland, and now only the most steadfast of those faced the terrors of the ocean. After a stormy voyage of nine weeks the ship was driven to the shore of Cape Cod.²

This was several hundred miles north of New Jersey, for which they had started. The country belonged to the Plymouth Company, but, as the bay was beautiful, the weary voyagers concluded to settle there, and obtain a charter from that company later on.

Since the patent they held from the London Company was useless, they drew up a compact in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, declaring loyalty to the king, and pledging to enact just and equal laws which they would obey "with all due submission." The compact was signed by forty-one of the principal men, and the wealthy John Carver was elected governor.

Captain Miles Standish, William Bradford, and a few others soon set out in a boat to explore the coast. They found no Indians and only brought back a little Indian corn, dug from a pit under the snow. Then Governor Carver and a party made explorations, and while ashore they were attacked by some Indians. They escaped to their ship, steered southwest, and, in the teeth of a storm, were driven into a safe harbor on the west side of

"God sifted a whole nation, that he might send choice grain into the wilderness"

The compact is signed, and John Carver elected governor

¹ See "Yearbook of the Society of Mayflower Descendants" (1897).

² "The Journal of the Voyage," written by William Bradford, was secured in 1897, by courtesy of Great Britain, and placed in the archives of the Statehouse at Boston.

the bay. On Monday, December 21, 1620, they landed on the spot called Plymouth on John Smith's map. They also called the place Plymouth in memory of the port in England from which they had sailed. Thus, thirteen years after Jamestown was founded by the Cavaliers in Virginia, Plymouth was founded by the Pilgrims in New England.¹

The landing of the
Pilgrims on
Plymouth Rock
(December 21)

With toil and suffering the Pilgrims built one large house for common use. The boats were few to disembark from the ships, and the cold was so severe that the wet clothes of the men looked like shining armor. At length they had all landed; and then began a grim struggle with Death, which is more cruel than any king.

The first winter



Exposure and poor food soon brought on disease. Before winter was over half of the colony had perished. The living buried the dead; but they kept their courage alive, and were so strong in their faith that this was the promised land that in the spring, when the *Mayflower* sailed back to England, not one Pilgrim was on board the vessel.

1621

The grant of land
from the Council
for New England

They obtained a charter from the Council for New England, which had succeeded the Plymouth Company, making them a grant of land between latitudes 40° and 48° stretching from "sea to sea," and allowing them the privilege of framing their own laws and electing their own officers.

They made peace with the Indians who taught them how to plant corn and shoot game, and they soon had enough to eat.

The Pilgrims, like the Cavaliers, first began to cultivate the fields in common. But they, too, found that a man worked better when he worked for himself, and each

¹ A boulder of granite on which the Pilgrims stepped became famous as Plymouth Rock. Read Webster's "Plymouth Oration."

1621

William Bradford
elected governor

man was soon given his own plot of ground to cultivate.

When Governor Carver died, William Bradford, who had been a farmer in England, and a dyer of wool in Holland, was elected governor. He was the first of a long line of commoners who have been chosen for high places by the American people on account of their sterling worth of mind and character.

Although treaties of peace were made with many Indian chiefs, there was always fear of an attack from the red

men. The town of Plymouth was enclosed by a palisade fence, and gates that were shut at night, and the little church on the hill was guarded with cannon. When it was time to go to meeting, a line was formed in front of the house of Captain Standish; the musketeers marched in front; then came Governor Bradford,

FIRST CHURCH IN NEW ENGLAND

Elder Brewster, and Captain Miles Standish, followed by the few timid women who had survived the hardships of the first winter.

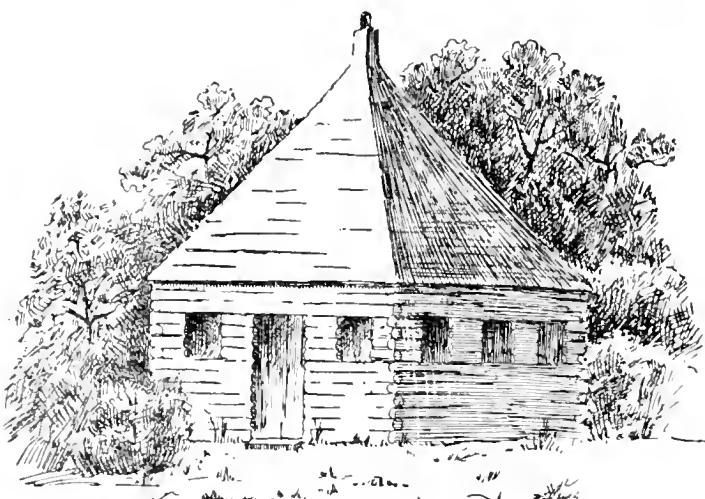
In the third year very troublesome traders from England came, who made a settlement at Weymouth on Boston Bay, twenty-five miles north of Plymouth.

They began to pay the Massachusetts Indians double prices for their corn, fish, and furs. But it was not long before they showed what rascals they were. They wasted their own provisions, and then robbed the Indians. When winter came on, they found themselves without

1623

The settlement
at Weymouth

The dread of attack
from the Indians



food or friends, and were forced to become servants to the Indians, cutting wood or fetching water for a cup of corn. The red men called them "paleface squaws," and plotted to destroy Weymouth and march against Plymouth.

Meanwhile, Edward Winslow, of Plymouth, had saved the life of Massasoit, the chief of a friendly tribe, and the grateful warrior revealed the plot against the settlements. Then Captain Miles Standish with eight picked men sailed to Weymouth, routed the Indians, and carried the heads of their ringleaders home on a pole. The Massachusetts tribe never recovered from this defeat; and treaties of peace were renewed with other neighboring tribes.

Soon after the trouble at Weymouth, Thomas Morton, a young lawyer of fine family, and some of his boon companions crossed the sea to get all the enjoyment they could out of the New World, and at the same time make their fortunes in the fur trade. They built cabins at Mount Wallaston, at the mouth of a winding stream which emptied into Boston Bay. To the south, in plain view from the hills, stood the lonely blockhouse of Weymouth.

But these young fellows proceeded to live in an even more reckless way than the traders of Weymouth had done. They laughed gaily at the "brethren" of Plymouth, and declared that life was too short to spend so much time in praying and keeping the ten commandments.

They called their settlement "Merrymount." They cut down a giant pine tree for a Maypole, and when they had set it up with much pomp, they drank rum till their heads were light, and then called in the Indians to help them drink more. They drew the dusky maid-

1623
Plots of the Indians

Captain Miles
Standish and his
eight picked men

1625
Thomas Morton
at Merrymount

The setting up of
the Maypole at
Merrymount

ens into a dance, and the whole company whirled about the Maypole in glee. The Pilgrims of Plymouth soon had reason to fear that worse things than these might happen.

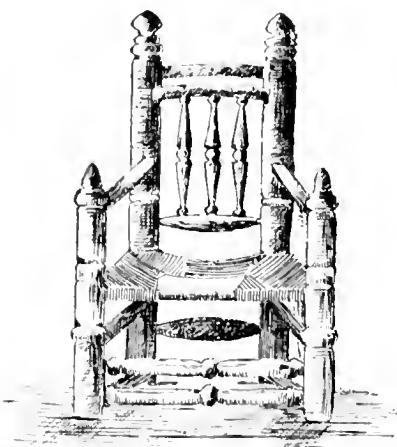
Merrymount causes much trouble

Morton and his friends, being anxious to make their fortunes as quickly as possible, sold the Indians all the rum they wanted. The post became the center of trade. The bay was full of canoes, laden with the furs of the otter, the marten, the black wolf, and other rare animals. But as rum was not bringing them money fast enough, they began to teach the Indians how to charge muskets and fire them. The warriors paid twenty times what the firearms were worth, and were soon roaming the woods, shooting at every object they met.

The fishing settlements on the coast petitioned Plymouth to help put down the troublesome neighbors. But when Governor Bradford sent a remonstrance to the traders, he was met with defiance.

Captain Standish visits Merrymount with his eight picked men

Then Captain Miles Standish, with his eight picked men, seized Morton, the "sachem" of Merrymount, and he was sent to England for trial.



GOVERNOR CARVER'S CHAIR

CHAPTER VIII

THE PURITANS

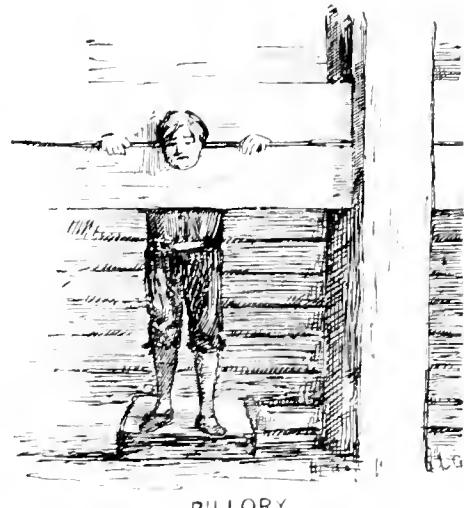
1628-1636

BESIDES the Separatists, who had set up a church of their own, there were many people in England, called Puritans, who did not wish to conform to all the ceremonies of the Established Church, yet could not make up their minds to separate from it.

They were persecuted more and more by Archbishop Laud, who regulated matters by giving the king a list of the church-members. Those marked with "O" were orthodox, and those marked with "P" were Puritans. The "P's" were brought before commissioners, and condemned to be branded, or stood in the pillory, or have their ears cropped off. Very few ever escaped punishment who provoked the wrath of the archbishop.

To avoid such tyranny, the Puritans resolved to seek homes in the New World, where they might worship as they pleased.¹ They formed a company, and bought from the Council for New England a strip of land between the Charles and the Merrimac. The tract thus purchased was said by the terms of the grant to extend from "sea to sea." This included, of course, the region along the Hudson River where the Dutch had planted colonies; but the Puritans knew nothing of that. They sent out small

The Puritans
in England



1628

The Puritans in
New England

¹ Read John Fiske's "Beginnings of New England."

colonies which settled at Salem and Charlestown on Massachusetts Bay, with John Endicott as governor.

Plymouth on Cape Cod Bay had set the example of this exodus to the New World. "As one small candle may light a thousand," said Governor Bradford, "so the light here hath shown to many," and he welcomed gladly the Christians of Massachusetts Bay.

The Rev. Thomas Higginson wrote back from Salem to his friends: "A sup of New England air is better than a whole draught of Old England's ale."

The Puritans soon enlarged their company, and called it the Massachusetts Bay Company.

They asked Charles I for a patent to their land.

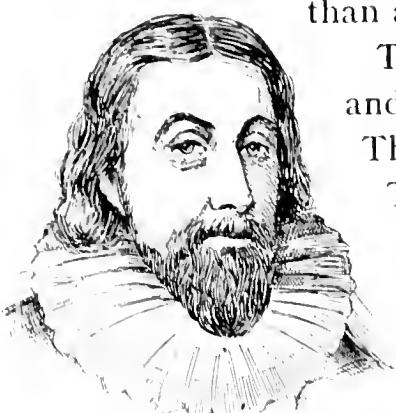
The king, thinking this new company was for the fisheries, said, smiling, that "fishing was the apostle's own calling," and granted a liberal charter. They were to have a governor, a deputy governor, and a council of eighteen assistants, to be elected annually

by themselves. They might make their own laws, and *no place was mentioned where their meetings must be held.*

Taking advantage of this omission in their charter, they quickly resolved to move their officers to America. They elected John Winthrop, of Groton Manor, governor, and that same year sent over six ships with over four hundred colonists to Salem. The following year, leaving wealth and high honors behind him, the noble Winthrop himself crossed the ocean with about a thousand more emigrants.

They brought cattle, horses, plows, seeds, fruit-trees, and all needful things to develop a new country. They planted towns along Massachusetts Bay, and on a peninsula of three low-browed hills, held to the coast by a

1629
The Massachusetts
Bay Company



JOHN WINTHROP
1588-1649

1630
Governor John
Winthrop brings a
colony to New
England

narrow neck of marshland, they laid out the capital city of Boston. A beacon was put on the highest hill for signals to the other towns, a fort was built on another, and a mill on the third. At the center of the town was the market-place, and a little church stood by the spring near the governor's house.

There were many privations in the colony. Before the first winter was over, two hundred had died, and almost as many more had sailed back to England.

Governor Winthrop was undismayed; and when springtime came, the hopes of all revived at the arrival of ships with provisions. The Puritans prospered greatly. Many of them were wealthy, and all were intelligent and industrious. They took the Bible as their law, and established the first Congregational church in New England. Then, that they might keep all dissensions out of their midst, they declared that no man should be allowed to vote on public affairs who did not belong to the church. Only church-members were eligible to office, yet taxes were imposed on all for the support of the minister; and when some members of the Episcopal Church attempted to establish a congregation of their own, they were sent back to England. So it was really an aristocracy which the liberty-loving Puritans established, not of birth nor of wealth, but of religion.

Many who had belonged to the same neighborhood in Old England formed their own little settlements in New England. Soon there were so many towns clustered about the bay that each chose two delegates to meet in Boston to help make laws for the common good. The governor's council were the upper house of the Legislature, and the delegates were the lower house. At first, the two houses sat together in a "General Court."

Boston settled and made the capital

Hunger, disease, and death

The Puritans make their own laws

An aristocracy of religion

1634
The government of Massachusetts Bay Colony

1642

But it is said on one occasion a ludicrous contest came up between these two bodies about a stray pig. They took different sides on his porkship, which resulted in separate sittings.

The Puritans make some severe laws

Some of their laws were quite as strict as those of Old England. For disrespect to the authorities, culprits were to be set in the bilboes, flogged, or have their ears cropped off. Indeed, it was a common saying among the king's friends that emigrants to Massachusetts had only exchanged the tyranny of the bishops for that of the "brethren."

Restraints put upon emigration from England

But the Puritans were very willing to abide by laws which they made themselves. They kept on coming to America until it began to seem that the best men and women of England would all cross the sea. The king declared there must be a stop to the craze, and that only serving-men might leave England without the permission of a commission appointed by the crown.

*1634
John Endicott and the English flag*

The colony had many enemies at court. Everything that was said or done in Massachusetts was reported to the king. And so the Puritans took great care not to give any offense. John Endicott, in a rage, cut off the cross of St. George from the English flag, but the magistrates censured him in public for the deed, and sent official letters to England explaining the matter.

Roger Williams causes the Puritan colony much anxiety

Young Roger Williams was so bold that he caused much anxiety. He wrote a paper in which he declared the king had no right to the land of the Indians, and to accept a patent from him was a sin. To prevent trouble over this, the magistrates sent agents to court to deny that they believed what Williams had said.

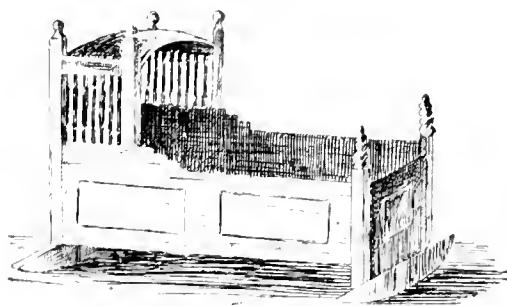
This brilliant young preacher continued, however, to provoke disputes in the colonies. He wished public affairs to be kept separate from the church. He declared

it absurd that a man should be taxed to support a church he did not believe in, or be forced to worship where he did not wish to do so, or that only those magistrates should be elected who indorsed some particular religious creed. He said each man's conscience should be free, and that whether it was the Episcopal Church of Old England, the Congregational Church of New England, the Jewish Synagogue, or the Roman Catholic Church, every church should be allowed a place in the community.

Roger Williams was only preaching what almost everybody believes to-day; but for such advanced views there seemed nothing to do but to banish him. He was told by Governor Winthrop that the members of the Massachusetts Bay Company had come to America to create a society after their own model. Those might join them who could agree with them. Others must seek homes somewhere else. There was room enough for all in America.

Schisms in the
church of New
England

Roger Williams
is banished

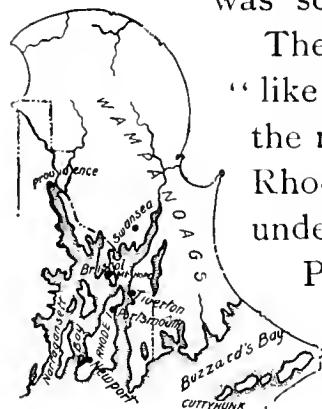


PURITAN CRADLE

CHAPTER IX

THE FIVE COLONIES OF NEW ENGLAND

1636
Roger Williams
founds Providence



1633
Plymouth colony
builds Fort Windsor
on the Connecticut

1635
John Winthrop, Jr.,
founds Saybrook

1635
Puritans from
Massachusetts Bay
at Wethersfield
and Windsor

ROGER WILLIAMS went to Narragansett Bay, bought land from the Indians, and founded Providence. The town was soon noted for its freedom in thought and speech.

Then Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, who was said to be "like Roger Williams, or worse," differed in belief from the magistrates of Boston, and founded settlements in Rhode Island. After a time the two colonies united under one government, called the Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.

The Plymouth colony purchased land of the Indians on the Connecticut River, and built a fort at Windsor, a few miles above a Dutch fort at Hartford. A rivalry then began between the English and the Dutch for the fur trade. But when John Winthrop, Jr., of Boston, built the stout palisade of Saybrook, at the mouth of the Connecticut, the Dutch could not use the river, and soon moved away.

About this time a great fleet brought over three thousand more Puritans from England. Because many of these did not like the rule that only church-members could vote, they did not wish to locate in Massachusetts Bay, and went to Wethersfield, which had just been founded by men from Dorchester, and to Windsor, where a colony from Watertown had begun a settlement.

At Newtown (now Cambridge), Mass., the minister was Thomas Hooker. He had stood in high honor in England; but Archbishop Laud wrote a "P" before his name, and he fled, first to Holland, and then to America.

When the eloquent divine found that over half of the men of Massachusetts had no vote in public affairs because they did not belong to the church, he was not pleased. He declared that every one should vote on matters of state, and he founded a town at Hartford where citizens might make laws to suit themselves. All these colonies on the Connecticut bought their lands of the Indians; but they had hardly set up the palisades about their rude huts when they began to be troubled with the red men.

The Pequods on the east bank of the river massacred traders as they came up in their boats, and no man dared venture out of the towns alone.

Troops from the Connecticut towns and Boston surprised a Pequot fort, and put men, women, and children to death, so that of four hundred Indians only five escaped. The remnants of the tribe were taken prisoners and divided as slaves among friendly tribes. It was a most cruel war; but peace followed for the valley of the Connecticut. Children might play among the buttercups on the river's brink, and farmers cultivate their fields without fear.

Meanwhile Puritan friends in England watched these colonies in the wilderness with increasing interest. They cherished a letter from America "as a sacred script, or as a writing from some holy prophet, and carried it many miles, where divers came to hear it read." Continued persecution led them to believe that only the wide ocean could save them from the fury of the bishops, but the harbors were watched day and night to prevent their escape.

It is said that a squadron of eight ships on the Thames was preparing to set sail for America with Oliver Cromwell and John Hampden on board when

1636

Thomas Hooker
founds Hartford

1637

The Pequot war
in ConnecticutThe Puritan friends
in EnglandOliver Cromwell
and John Hampden

1638
New Haven
founded by
Theophilus Eaton
and John Davenport

1639
The Constitution
of Hartford

"The Constitution
of Connecticut
marks the beginning
of American
democracy"

The rebellion
in England

1636
Governor Harry
Vane introduces
more ceremony into
public affairs in the
Massachusetts Bay
colony

constables prevented the vessels from leaving port. That same year, however, about three thousand Puritans managed to reach America. Many of these, under the leadership of Theophilus Eaton and John Davenport, founded the town of New Haven on the shore of Long Island Sound. There were several wealthy men in this colony, mostly from London, who built stately houses and handsome public buildings. They were as strict in their religious belief as the Puritans of Massachusetts. Only church-members could vote in civil affairs at New Haven. Other settlers followed these; they chose homes near by on the shores of the sound, and after a time united with the New Haven colony.

In 1639 the towns on the Connecticut River met at Hartford, and drew up a constitution for the commonwealth of Connecticut.

Every man, without regard to belief, could vote for the governor and council; each township had equal representation in the Assembly; free schools were established; indeed, the constitution of Connecticut was so liberal in all its provisions that it has been said to "mark¹ the beginning of American democracy." The New Haven colony did not unite with Connecticut for several years, chiefly because of religious differences.

Meantime the Puritans in England were in open rebellion against the oppressions of King Charles I, and many in the colonies hastened back home to join in the struggle for liberty.

Among these was Harry Vane, the son and heir of a royal secretary, who had forsaken the court of King Charles for the rude life of America.

It pleased and flattered the colonists to have such a distinguished man among them. It was expected that

¹ Read John Fiske's "Beginnings of New England."

many men of rank would follow his example, and come to live in the colonies; and this they would undoubtedly have done if they had not soon found peace at home.

Young Vane was zealous in the faith; but he could not easily bring himself to the rigid rules of the Puritans. Instead of the somber garb of the time, with its white Geneva bands and black coif, he wore "fair and feminine cuffs at the wrist," and long curling locks. He was elected governor of Massachusetts Bay, and when he came into office, there was a stricter show of state.

Yet for all that, the Puritans loved the young patrician. They thought it a grand sight when the young governor, attended by four sergeants with halberds, stood in ancient English fashion beneath the spreading oak on Cambridge Common to announce to the freemen before him the purpose of their meeting.

When young Vane left Boston Harbor for England, the whole city turned out to see him off. His presence in the colony had aroused more love for ceremony in public affairs, and a few even talked of hereditary right to sit in the Council as in the House of Lords in England. But the people would not consent to restrict their rights, and made a law that the members of the Council should be chosen every year.

The social war in England kept the Puritans at home; and perhaps it was well that immigration to New England ceased when it did. No new elements were added for several years to disturb the natural growth and development of the little commonwealths.

Within twenty-one years after the landing of the Pilgrims in the *Mayflower* there were more than twenty-six thousand English settlers in New England. The people were gathered into five independent provinces: Plymouth, which had shown the way across the sea;

Vane goes to
England to join the
forces of Cromwell

1643

Emigration from
England ceases

The five provinces
of New England

Massachusetts Bay, the largest and richest of all; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, and New Haven.

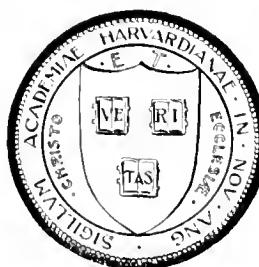
Colonial government
in New England

Now none of these provinces, except Massachusetts Bay, had yet received a charter from the king; but in all of them the people in the small towns sent delegates to the capital to sit in a legislature with a governor and his council whom they themselves had elected.

The Indian trails through the forests were widening into bridle paths, and there was much friendly communication between the provinces.

Perhaps the greatest means of keeping them in touch with one another was Harvard College. The young men of the five provinces flocked to Cambridge, three miles from Boston, to attend its lectures. People from all parts of New England helped to support Harvard College. If they could not send money, they sent butter, or corn, or peltries, rejoicing that "such a light of learning was set up in the wilderness."

1635
Harvard College
founded at
Cambridge



SEAL OF HARVARD

CHAPTER X

THE UNITED COLONIES OF NEW ENGLAND



BOUNDARY lines of the provinces were sometimes subjects of dispute, and some of the wisest men of New England discussed the need of a Court of Appeal to which the colonies might carry their differences for adjustment. Besides the troubles among themselves about boundary lines, other reasons were urged why the colonies of New England should form a confederacy.

They were surrounded by many foes.

There were the French on the north, who, after founding Quebec, had pushed their missions farther and farther west, until, long before the hymns of the Pilgrims rang out from the *Mayflower*, the Jesuit fathers were chanting their prayers on the shores of the northern lakes.¹

Trading posts followed the missions. And at certain seasons of the year when French traders sent their vessels along the coast of Maine and New Hampshire, hundreds of Indian trappers carried their packs of furs to the waiting ships. They pitched their bark tents along the beautiful harbors, and after the dances, songs, and feasts were over, returned to their villages laden with French trinkets, hatchets, and guns. If trouble should come between the English and the French, these Indians would be sure to take sides with the French.

The enemies of
New England

The French on the
St. Lawrence

¹ Read Parkman's "Pioneers of France in the New World."

The Dutch on
the Hudson
1624
The Dutch West
India Company



1638
The Swedes on
the Delaware

Then there were the Dutch on the west, who had settled in America. Holland granted all of New Netherland to the Dutch West India Company who founded New Amsterdam (now New York), Fort Orange (now Albany), Fort Nassau (now Gloucester) on the Delaware, and other places. Peltry was so abundant that New Amsterdam chose the beaver for the crest of its seal, and at first all these Dutch towns were merely fur-trading stations.

The West India Company allowed any one who, within four years, would bring fifty adult settlers to New Netherland, the privilege of buying from the Indians a strip of land, sixteen miles long on one side, or eight miles long on both sides, of any navigable river, and the width of the land should be without limit. The purchasers, who brought the tenants, were called "patroons," or lords of the manor.

Van Rensselaer, a pearl merchant of Holland, chose his grant near the trading post of Fort Orange, and soon rich merchants and traders had laid off most of the Hudson valley into farms.¹

They employed masons, carpenters, clerks, and tailors, who helped build up towns to supply the needs of the farmers who rented their lands.

Business was always brisk in New Netherland. The jolly Dutchmen made friends with the Indians. They dangled the papooses, threw gaudy presents for the squaws into their bargains, and were fast monopolizing the fur trade as far east as the Connecticut River.

On the south of New England were the Swedes. They had fulfilled a cherished plan of King Gustavus

¹ Read Irving's "Knickerbocker's History of New York."

Adolphus to occupy the banks of the Delaware. They bought the land from the Indians, and named it New Sweden ; but the Dutch claimed their territory and the disputes of these two colonies were both loud and long until, a few years later, Peter Stuyvesant, the governor of New Netherlands, annexed New Sweden to his province.

1655

All these colonies of the French, Dutch, and Swedes, who were so different from the Puritans in customs, religions, and laws, threatened to keep the New England colonies close to the sea, or drive them out of America.¹

Yet more to be feared than the French or the Dutch or the Swedes on their borders were the Indians in their midst. The red men of New England belonged to the great Algonquin family, whose hunting grounds extended south along the Atlantic coast to the southern boundary of Virginia, west to the Mississippi, and north to far beyond the Great Lakes.

The red men of
New England

The Abenakis along the harbors of Maine, and the Tarratines on the hills of New Hampshire were under the influence of the French. The Wampanoags of Cape Cod, the Narragansetts along the west shores of Narragansett Bay, and the Mohegans on the Connecticut, had all made treaties of peace ; but there was no telling how long the treaties would last. These nations were always quarreling with one another, and were jealous of the favors of the white men.

From the very first there had been fear of attacks on the settlements. Once the firing of muskets at Watertown to scare a wolf away from a strayed calf caused alarm in Roxbury which spread to Boston, turning the whole population out of bed. "So in the morning,"

¹ Read Henry Cabot Lodge's "English Colonies."

concludes the chronicler, "the calf being found safe, the wolves affrighted, and our danger past, we went merrily to breakfast." But the next Court ordered that whoever fired muskets for such cause after watch was set, should pay a fine and be flogged.

An Indian creeping through the outskirts of the forest at daybreak might be the signal for the coming of the whole band on the warpath.

Thus with the French, the Dutch, the Swedes, and the Indians for foes, there seemed great need for the English settlements to unite for common defense.

Accordingly, during May, 1643, commissioners from three provinces rode through the tangled forests to Boston to draw up articles of confederation with Massachusetts Bay. The Rhode Island and Providence Plantations were not asked to join the league because of the troubles with Roger Williams, but the bold young preacher hastened to England that very year, and secured a charter from Parliament for Rhode Island. As for the fishing hamlets on the coast of Maine¹ and New Hampshire, they were not yet strong enough to be called provinces. And so, in 1643, only the four provinces of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven joined together in a confederation, called "the United Colonies of New England." Two delegates from each colony formed a board to settle questions of interest common to all.

Now the "plain people" had a voice in the laws of even this confederation. In each little town the inhabitants were summoned to a public meeting, where freemen had the right to speak and vote. This town

1643
The Federal Convention

The charter of Rhode Island

The United Colonies of New England

The freemen make the laws of the confederacy

¹ In 1622, Maine and New Hampshire were granted by the Council for New England to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and John Mason. The settlements in both territories had placed themselves under the protection of Massachusetts Bay.

meeting elected commissioners to a General Court, at the capital town of the province. The General Court named the delegates to the Board of Commissioners at Boston. Thus the government of the United Colonies of New England was created by the people. It was the beginning, as we shall see, of a greater Confederacy which would unite thirteen colonies, and prepare the way for the United States of America.

Surely the king and his bishops would resist such a blow as this at their authority! But when the federal union was ratified, Archbishop Laud was in prison, and Charles I was a fugitive beyond the gates of London.

It was about this time, as we have seen in the study of the Virginia Colony, that the Long Parliament accused the king of treason. He had opposed the people and raised taxes illegally. After a trial, Charles was beheaded. Oliver Cromwell became Protector of England, and, being a Puritan himself, he was a friend to the Puritans of New England.

1649
Charles I is
beheaded

CHAPTER XI

THE PEOPLE OF NEW ENGLAND

AT the time of the confederacy, the people of New England were of pure English stock. There were no Scotch or Irish among them. They had come from all the shires, or counties, of England, — from the mountains and lakes in the north and from the broad, level marshlands of the south; but the most of the New Englanders were from the eastern shires.

1643
The people of
New England at the
time of the
confederation

It was these eastern shires that had first won the

Free speech in
free meeting

right of free speech in free meetings. The quaint old towns obtained charters from the earlier kings, which gave freemen the right of trial by jury, and protected their trade from toll; and although the king always appointed the chief magistrate of a town, each ward had its own merchant guild, and was governed by its own alderman, before whom freemen might talk to their hearts' content.

This self-government was almost forgotten in England since tyrants had become kings; but the Puritan colonies in America renewed the rights of the charters.

Each town became a tiny republic in itself. Nearly every shipload formed the center of a new commonwealth.

A church was "gathered" by members who signed a covenant for worship. Then the town was incorporated and named, and a town meeting was organized. The citizens appointed a selectman who summoned the inhabitants to a meeting "to know the town's mind." The meeting was generally held in the church, where, in the loft overhead, were the town's drums, muskets, and halbersts, with the flag of England, which was borne through the streets on training days. The men sat with their hats on, as in the House of Commons. A moderator was elected to preside, and when he doubted a vote, he divided the polls by asking those who were for it, to go on the woman's side of the house, and those against it, on the men's side.

From the magistrate, down to the lowest office, it was an honor to serve the town. The watchman cried out the hour and the weather, as he made his rounds in the night; the tax gatherer collected the fines, and the sheriff stood ready to punish those who failed to pay them; the tithing man kept his ten, or more, families in decent

The town meeting

The town officers

observance of church and school, and the constable was always busy at a little of everything.

There were few, if any, *political* distinctions between the freemen of New England. Political equality

But there were *social* distinctions in these Puritan towns. Younger sons of the gentry, whose fathers lived on estates in England, and were in Parliament, and scholars from Cambridge, or Oxford, and shrewd lawyers from London, had joined the colonies. This class of citizens served as magistrates and judges, by vote of the people, and were made officers on training day. Social inequality

The most of the freemen, however, were industrious farmers and tradespeople; yet they differed from the same class in England, in that they were land owners.

The farmers of New England almost always owned the land they cultivated. Their children were in the public schools, side by side with those of the magistrates, and the sons who went to Harvard College, were welcomed everywhere. Contrast between the farmers of Old England and those of New England

Then there were the poor; but there were not many of these. It was a common saying that one might live in a Puritan town, year in, and year out, and not see a drunkard, or hear an oath, or meet a beggar.

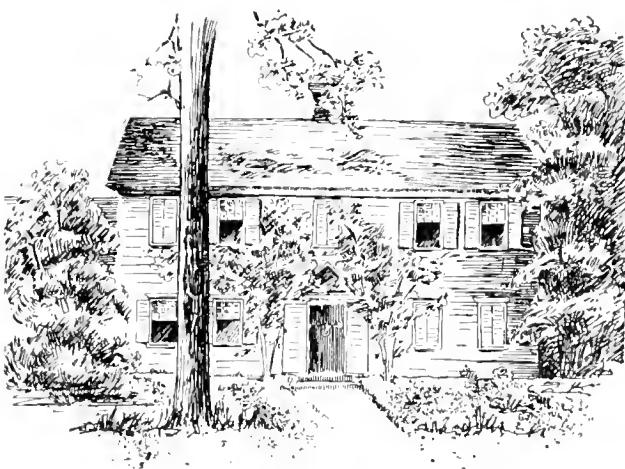
Social distinctions were most in evidence in the meetinghouse. Here the congregations were seated according to family position. The men and women sat apart. First of all in dignity was the minister's family. Then came the magistrates, respected the more because they had been chosen in open meeting; and with them sat the gentry, while behind these were the "good men" and "good wives," who were the farmers, the mechanics, and the fisher folk. In the meeting-house

The minister looked down from the high pulpit upon the first benches, where the elders sat in state, facing

Puritan dress

the congregation, and the deacons a step below. The men who faced the minister wore long jackets with a belt at the waist and loose trousers reaching only to the knee, where they were tied, and square-toed shoes with enormous buckles. Their hair was combed straight back and tied with black ribbon, or cropped short like that of the Roundheads in England. The women wore short gowns, stiff petticoats, and white aprons. The sleeves of the gowns were short, and long mittens came above the elbow. Their cloaks were short with hoods thrown back. The boys and girls sat in separate places, and were under the charge of a tithing man.

When the long sermon was over, and the hymns were sung, and the prayers finished, there was visiting outside. The people had much to talk about. Announcements were tacked on the door of the meeting-house—intentions of marriage, notices of lost and found, and of whaling vessels about to sail,



COLONIAL MANSION, NEW ENGLAND

After meeting

and of bounties offered for wolves; while over the door hung the trophies captured for bounties. Near the meetinghouse stood the stocks, the pillory, and the whipping-post, where practical lessons in punishment were given.

The tavern

Another place for gossip was the tavern—

"Where village statesmen talked with looks profound,
And news much older than their ale went round."

Travelers, on foot or horse, through the blazed paths of the forests, or those coming by sea in sloops, sat

about the sputtering logs in the fireplace and talked of the Long Parliament, and of how their old-time Governor Vane, now Sir Harry Vane, was leading reforms in the Commons.

It was considered wicked to observe Christmas, or trim the houses with holly, or dance about the Maypole, as back in "merry England."

There were more fast days than feast days in New England. There were fasts to ward off pests in the

Fast days and thanksgivings



TRAINING DAY IN OLDEN TIMES

grain, and withering drouths, and killing frosts, and attacks from the Indians. But there were thanksgiving days for the blessings received; and—

"Those dined then who'd seldom dined before,
And those who'd always dined, then dined the more."

There were fishing parties when the fish came up the rivers from the sea; there were husking bees, quilting bees, log rollings, and strawberry and raspberry pickings among the rocky glens and pastures.

On training day, men from sixteen to sixty years of

Training days in
the towns

age were mustered for drill. The arms were muskets, swords, and pikes. Muskets had matchlocks, or flintlocks, and rests for taking aim. Pikes were ten feet long, and the tallest men were chosen to carry them. There was no regular uniform for these village soldiers. Some had corselets of steel and some thick wadded coats of cotton. Some wore beaver hats and some wore felt hats.

"Put right hands to firelock!" "Put gun on left shoulder!" "Hoo!" shouted the captain as he drilled his men on the green.

Life on the farm

But fasts and feasts and training days were only incidents in the lives of the Puritans. There was always work to do. On the farms, the whole family began work at sunrise and ended it when candles were snuffed out at early bedtime. There were stones to be picked up, stumps to be grubbed, and fields to be fenced in and plowed. There was the little kitchen garden to tend, with its "truck," raised from seed brought from Old England, and the orchard to prune, with its apples, pears, and peaches, which, it was said, seemed to take on a more spicy flavor in this new soil.

In some of the colonies it was the law that every family should plant flax and hemp, and that a certain amount of spinning should be done by the women.

The sea becomes
the highway of
New England

Fear of the Indians kept the New Englanders close to the shore. The sea became their highway. Every little port was filled with fishing and whaling smacks. Farmers built scows for carrying wood, and sloops for freighting it to market, and one and two masted craft to be used in the coasting trade.

Governor Winthrop had brought with him William Stephens, a shipwright, as skilled as any in all England. He built at Boston some vessels of four hundred tons,

for trade with the West Indies and Europe; and, at the time of the union of the colonies, Salem merchants had ships of "three hundred burthen."

When one of the larger craft came sailing back to port, a whole town was on tiptoe waiting for the owner's signals. There were joyful greetings after the long voyage, and a great gathering in the tavern to hear the news from foreign lands.

Wampum, or beads made from periwinkle or clam shells, was the medium of business for many years after the union.

Wampum, the foundation of trade

Wampum bought furs, fish, and venison from the Indians; these bought raw cotton and silver from the West Indies. The cotton and silver were then taken across the sea to exchange for the luxuries of Europe. And thus wampum was the foundation of trade in New England. Boston, Hartford, Plymouth, and the other capital towns grew apace. The thatched huts gave way to frame buildings with Elizabethan fronts and overhanging gables; while here and there a brick or stone house became the dwelling of a magistrate or a rich and gouty merchant.

Boston was the largest and most prosperous town in the colonies. To a visitor from a country village it seemed a splendid city. The streets were paved with cobblestones, and crowded with hackney coaches, sedan chairs, and four-horse shays, in which the gentry rode, with negro slaves for drivers.

Boston, the capital city of the United Colonies of New England

The gentry dressed in embroidered coats, satin waist-coats, silk hose, and wigs. Some, like Governor Winthrop, wore stiff ruffs, and others wore broad, flat collars. The ladies were gay in bright silks and gauzy scarfs, and put black patches on their cheeks to improve their beauty.

But a fine coach was often followed by flocks of sheep and oxcarts filled with cordwood or hay, and behind the simpering lady of fashion were rosy-cheeked farmers' wives fetching baskets of butter and eggs to market.

1050
Virginia and New
England contrasted

By the middle of the seventeenth century, the English people, in the North as well as in the South had become established in America.

In both New England and Virginia they had learned to love their adopted country. They spoke the same language and claimed the same king. Yet, as we have seen, they formed two distinct commonwealths.

Virginia was the land of the cavaliers, or aristocrats, New England that of the yeoman, or farmers and traders.

Virginia was divided into vast plantations, the estate descending undivided to the eldest son. New England had few large estates, and at the death of the owners they were divided among his children.

In Virginia, there were almost no towns, and hospitality was in the homes. In New England, there were already ninety towns, and travelers put up at the taverns.

In Virginia, the indentured servants, who were released from bondage, could find no work except that in the fields with the slaves, which they scorned to do. In New England, the same class always found plenty of work among their equals, and soon had farms of their own.

In Virginia, the House of Burgesses was the meeting of wealthy planters who made whatever laws they could under the restraint of governors appointed by the king.

In New England, the Legislatures met, with delegates in no way superior to those who had sent them, to consult with governors elected by the people themselves.

In Virginia, there were no public schools. In New England there were schools for rich and poor alike in almost every village.

And thus we find two great types of social and political life in the English colonies of America: in the South, "Old England in the Woods;" in the North, "New England by the Sea." Both Southern and Northern colonies had negro slaves, and both were surrounded by Indians.

Thus the red, the white, and the black men dwelt together in the New World.

What would the next two hundred years do for these three distinct races?

"Old England in
the Woods;" "New
England by the
Sea"

The problem of
three races

CHAPTER XII

TROUBLous TIMES IN NEW ENGLAND

1660-1686

THE peace which the New England colonies enjoyed during the Protectorate of the Cromwells, closed with the restoration of Charles II. The young king resolved to punish the members of Parliament who had brought his father's head to the block, and driven himself into exile. The colonies heard with dismay of the imprisonment of Sir Harry Vane and others who had been their friends at court, and those who fled to New England from the royal displeasure were protected.

When the king heard how the Puritans sympathized with his enemies, he began in various ways to restrict their privileges. He took sides with the Quakers when they made complaint of their treatment in Massachusetts.

The Quakers, or Friends, were a new religious sect, organized in England by George Fox. Many Quakers

1660
Charles II is
crowned king
of England

He restricts the
privileges of the
Puritans

1646
The Quaker Church
established in
England

came to America believing it their duty to preach the gospel to the Puritans. They gloried in punishments, and their zeal was so great that when ordered to leave the towns they refused to obey.

The Quakers in
New England

Death penalty
pronounced
against them

1661
King Charles
detains the
Quakers

Massachusetts
incurs the special
displeasure
of the king

1662
The charter of
Connecticut
is granted

1663
The charter of
Rhode Island
confirmed

When driven on board one vessel, they returned by another as soon as they could. The governor and council of Massachusetts were at their wits' end to know what to do with the Quakers. At last the law was enacted that those who returned after banishment should be put to death, and four were hanged on Boston Common.¹

About the same time Charles sent a banished Quaker to Governor Endicott with a letter forbidding the court to inflict bodily punishment upon the Quakers. It was thought a great triumph for the sect when the banished man kept on his hat, while the governor removed his to receive the royal message.

It displeased the king that the Church of England was not allowed to be established in Massachusetts, and that the British navigation laws were not obeyed at Boston. Enemies of Massachusetts told him that the colony would gladly throw off his authority altogether; that, when he was in exile, the magistrates had attempted to imprison a stranger they took for himself, and that the newly elected Governor Leverett had been an officer in Cromwell's army.

Charles determined to chastise the unruly province of Massachusetts, and to court the favor of the other colonies. So when John Winthrop, Jr., bore to him, from the magistrates of Connecticut, a petition for a charter, his majesty gladly granted it.

And when John Clarke asked confirmation of the charter which the Puritan Parliament had given to Rhode Island, he granted this favor also.

¹ Read Longfellow's "New England Tragedies."

Then, because New Haven was a close ally of Massachusetts, and had received and protected Edward Whalley and William Goffe, two judges who had condemned his father, he united that unwilling colony to Connecticut, and renewed the liberal charter he had given Connecticut three years before.

1665
New Haven united
to Connecticut

Meanwhile, to strengthen himself still more in his authority over the prosperous colonies, King Charles granted to his brother, the Duke of York, all of New Netherland, which he claimed because of the discoveries of the Cabots. The young prince, paying no heed to the claims of the Dutch or the Swedes who occupied the country, sent a fleet to New Amsterdam to take possession of his province.

1664
The royal grant of
New Netherland
to the Duke of
York (March 1)

As the ships sailed into the beautiful harbor, Peter Stuyvesant, governor of New Netherland, stood on a bastion of the fort, ready to touch off a cannon at the usurpers.

The garrison, however, was so feeble, and the fort so unfit to hold out, that the burghers gathered about Stuyvesant, and urged him to submit. The stout old governor declared he would be carried out dead before he would surrender; but, in the end, he agreed to capitulate. The English jack was run up the flagstaff of the fort, and the Dutch soldiers embarked for Holland.

PETER STUYVESANT
1602-1682



Peter Stuyvesant
surrenders New
Amsterdam
August 29

That part of the province east of the Delaware became New Jersey, and was divided into East and West Jersey by Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret to whom the duke had given it. The north part of New Netherland was called New York; Fort Orange, Albany; and New Amsterdam, New York City. Yet for many years the good Dutch burghers lived on in their own way in spite of political changes.

New York and
the Jerseys

1674
Sir Edmund Andros,
governor of
New York

Andros at Saybrook



STREET IN NEW AMSTERDAM

Plotting of
the Indians

he considered of more importance than those in America.

Yet worse foes than kings threatened the colonies. The Indians were plotting to drive the white men back over the "morning waters."

One of the expressed reasons for the coming of the Puritans to America was to convert these "benighted heathen." The seal of Massachusetts was an Indian, standing erect, holding an arrow in his right hand, and the motto: "Come over and help us." The conversion of Pocahontas, and her gentle behavior in London, had once aroused much interest among the Puritans of England, who resolved to establish missions among the red

1616
The visit of
Pocahontas to
London arouses
interest in Indian
missions

consequences." And when muskets of all sizes and shapes were staring straight at him, the governor had nothing to do but return to New York. There is no telling what might have been the fate of New England if, just at this time, King Charles had not found matters at home to look after which

men when they reached America. They were kept so busy, however, planting homes in the wilderness that for several years after their arrival little missionary work was done.

About the time of the confederation, Thomas Mayhew established missions on Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket. Hiacoomes was his first convert. It was with much tribulation that this warrior remained true to the faith. One chief jeered at him and called him "Englishman," which was thought enough to wound the feelings of any Indian who had any pride at all. Another chief told him it was infamous to barter thirty-seven gods for one. But Hiacoomes remained faithful to his pledges, and others were converted, until there were several hundred Christian Indians on the islands.

Meanwhile John Eliot, of Roxbury, had learned the Indian language, that he might preach to the heathen.

He took his converts from the gibes of their companions, and laid out the town of Natick on the Charles River, near Boston. Soon there were four hundred Christians in Natick. They built a fort, a church, and their own houses. The women were taught to spin and keep house. The men learned to cultivate the orchards and sow the small grain. They followed in endless delight the long furrows made with the plow, and were proud of their advanced methods of farming. Indian towns were built until there were fourteen "praying towns" in Massachusetts.

Governor Winthrop and others wrote to friends in England of this spread of the gospel, and many contributions were sent to aid in the good work. Mr. Eliot printed a short catechism and two hundred New Testaments in the Algonquin language. He hoped by this means to convert all the tribes in New England. The

Thomas Mayhew
establishes missions
on Martha's
Vineyard and
Nantucket

John Eliot and the
"praying towns"
of Massachusetts

greater part of the warriors, however, held to the gods of their fathers. The Narragansetts listened patiently once a month to Roger Williams, because they loved him, but few were converted to his faith.

Massasoit, the chief of the Wampanoags, and the firm friend of the white men, said the *manitous* of his ancestors were good enough for him.

After the death of this good chief, his son Philip began to make trouble. Philip had watched the white-winged ships bringing new settlers every year until there were more than twice as many white men as red men in New England. The Indians longed more and more for the cunning inventions which the white men gave in exchange for their lands. Tract after tract was signed away. The tribe of Philip, which had once owned all the country from Narragansett Bay to Cape Cod, was crowded at last into the two small peninsulas of Mount Hope and Tiverton, on Narragansett Bay.

Philip claimed that the warriors did not understand the deeds to which they had signed the rude outlines of an arrow, or a hatchet, or other symbol which represented their names. The Puritans, however, said that the Indians were shrewd and cunning in their trades; that they always got the best price they could for their furs, and sold their lands so cheaply because they prized the trinkets so much.

Philip plotted mischief. The Mohawks on the Hudson declared that he had offered them bribes to help drive out the palefaces. Then the little town of Swansea was attacked while the people were at meeting. The Nipmucks joined the Wampanoags, and the united warriors spread ruin and death through New England. The Christian Indians who remained quietly in their towns were often unjustly suspected of treachery. Indeed, ties

1661

Complaints of
the Indians

1675

The attack on
Swansea (July 1)

1675-1678

King Philip's war

of blood proved often stronger than those of faith, and, three weeks after the attack on Swanzy, a whole "praying town" of two hundred tied feathers into their cropped hair, painted themselves red, and deserted to the enemy. One Indian, who, perhaps, remembered when he had been whipped in Puritan fashion and set in the stocks for misconduct, soon wore a string of white fingers around his neck, which he had cut from the dead after a battle.

Philip persuaded the Narragansetts to join in the massacres, and they built a great fort in a swamp at Kingston, and set up five hundred wigwams, within its stout palisades. Here the tribes gathered their old men, women, and children, and prepared for a bitter campaign.

In the middle of bleak December, one thousand soldiers under Governor Winslow attacked the fort, killed or captured more than a thousand warriors, and burned the old men, women, and children in their wigwams. A few hundred warriors escaped to lay waste the settlements along the frontiers.

At last, Philip himself was surrounded and shot by a treacherous Indian. His chief surrendered soon after.

Some of the Indian prisoners were divided into companies and quartered in villages where they were compelled to pay tribute. Some were sold as slaves in the West Indies, though the Reverend Eliot declared : "To sell souls seems dangerous merchandise."

The warriors who escaped, fled to the north and to the west, where their kinsmen dwelt. Many years after, moved by a hate which never slept, they guided French war parties to lay waste the fair fields of the English.

The colonies lost six hundred men in this terrible war of King Philip. Thirteen towns were destroyed, forty

1675
The battle of
Kingston
(December 19)

1676
Death of King
Philip (August 12)

1678
The Wampanoags,
Nipmucks, and
Narragansetts are
driven out of
New England

others were the scenes of fire and death, and men, women, and children perished in captivity.

While the people were rebuilding their towns, King Charles II again turned his attention to the colonies. The British Parliament, during the Protectorate, had passed Navigation Acts which required that intercolonial trade should be carried on in British vessels. After the accession of Charles, it listed articles to be shipped to England alone, and forbade the importation of wares from any place in Europe unless first landed at a port in England. The British Board of Trade complained that American merchants were disobeying the Navigation Acts.

Charles sent Edward Randolph over to look into matters. Randolph assumed kingly airs as he went from port to port. He held revels on Saturday evenings in the streets of Boston, and insisted on observing the ceremonies of the Church of England on Sabbath.

Governor Leverett, of Massachusetts, kept on his peaked hat in the presence of the royal commissioner and treated him with such disdain that he vowed vengeance on the colony. He wrote Charles that his Majesty's letters were of no more account in Boston than a London gazette and that the people were a lot of smugglers planning to stir up rebellion in all the colonies. This was just one hundred years before a rebellion against tyranny was really declared. It is well to note with care the events which slowly brought on the Declaration of Independence in 1776.

Randolph was made collector of customs, and when the merchants complained of the restrictions on their trade, he replied that it was not to his Majesty's interest that Americans should thrive.

The quarrel with the people of Massachusetts grew so bitter that Charles succeeded in getting the Court of

The Navigation
Acts

1676

Edward Randolph,
the king's
commissioner

1679

Chancery to annul their charter. And so every foot of ground in Massachusetts was transferred to the crown. All titles to the lands and houses were void, and, if the king so willed, no man might dwell a day longer on the farm he had planted in the wilderness.

While Charles was planning a new government for Massachusetts, he died, and his brother, James, the Duke of York, became king.

James II was even more tyrannical than Charles II, and took no account of any of the charters. He sent Sir Edmund Andros, the former governor of New York, to be governor-general of all New England.

Two squadrons sailed into Boston Harbor bearing Governor Andros and a company of British grenadiers. In scarlet and lace His Excellency walked at the head of his glittering band through the sullen crowds that lined King's Street. Then he proceeded to Providence, and broke the seal of Rhode Island. And then, attended by his troopers, he went to Hartford, Conn.

The Assembly was in session, and the town alive with excitement. It is tradition that while Governor Treat was pleading for the charter, as it lay on the table in the town hall, the candles were snuffed out suddenly, and before they were lit again the precious document had been hidden by Captain Wadsworth in a hollow oak tree. But this little incident did not interfere in the least with the plans of Governor Andros. He wrote FINIS at the end of the records, and declared the Assembly dissolved.

The provinces of New York and the Jerseys were soon annexed to New England; and thus all the coast from Delaware to Canada came under the dominion of the king's governor. Boston was made the capital. The royal guards caroused through the streets, swearing

1684
The charter of
Massachusetts
annulled

1685
Charles II is
succeeded by
James II

1686
Sir Edmond Andros,
governor of the
Dominion of
New England

The Charter Oak of
Hartford, Conn.

and boasting of the bets they had won. There were cockfights on Shrove Tuesday, and Maypoles set up on the green; and the prim Puritan town was kept in a ferment from morning till night.

CHAPTER XIII

THE LATER COLONIES

1686
Puritans and
cavaliers are under
the rule of the
royal governors



1629
Maryland, a
proprietary
government under
the Calverts

1691
A royal province

1716
Again a proprietary
colony

WE have now seen how the Puritans of New England, as well as the cavaliers of Virginia, came, at last, to be ruled by the king's governors.

While these political changes were taking place in the two pioneer settlements, the vast wilderness between them was being explored and colonized. The Catholics in England had been persecuted, and they, too, sought refuge in America. During the reign of Charles I, a wealthy Catholic gentleman, George Calvert, baron of Baltimore, explored the country north

of the Potowmack. He liked it so well that he obtained a charter for the territory, which he named Maryland in honor of the queen, Henrietta Maria. Lord Baltimore was created proprietor of the province, and for over forty years, with a few exceptions, the Calverts ruled in Maryland. They permitted freemen to elect a House of Burgesses and welcomed all Christian people, whatever their creed. Lord Baltimore was deprived of his province on account of his support of James II after that king's banishment, but, twenty-five years later, Maryland was restored to the proprietor.

Tobacco became the chief industry. Large domains were laid out where the mansions of the rich planters

were surrounded by the straggling huts of the poor whites and the clustered cabins of the negroes. There were few towns and no free schools, and the social life in Maryland was very much like that in Virginia. These two colonies were not always on the best of terms by reason of disputes about boundary lines and religion; but their public interests were much the same. If either was attacked by the Indians, the other rallied to aid. At one time, when a band of warriors invaded Maryland, Colonel John Washington, the great grandfather of George Washington, crossed the Potomac with his Virginia troops to help drive them out.

Virginia, with this new province on the north, must needs cease spreading her plantations beyond the Potomac; so her people began to settle the land to the south. First, through swamps and pathless forests some poor whites wandered who had served their term of indenture. They built huts along Albemarle Sound, and busied themselves with trading in furs, and tar and turpentine, made from the fir trees.

Then some Quakers fled from Virginia, to find homes near the very spot where Sir Walter Raleigh's colonies had attempted to make settlements so many years before. And then eight hundred rich planters from Barbadoes bought lands of the Indians, and laid out plantations along Cape Fear River.

That same year Charles II granted the lower part of South Virginia to the Duke of Albemarle, the Earl of Clarenden, and six other favorites. Their patent was much like Calvert's, except that there were eight proprietors instead of one. They adopted its old French name Carolina because it was like the king's, and they sent agents through Great Britain to encourage immigration. Charles I was so pleased with the growth of the colony

Colonel John Washington, with the Virginia militia, helps drive the Indians out of Maryland

The Albemarle settlement

1663
The Cape Fear River settlement

Carolina becomes a proprietary government

1665

The Carolina grant enlarged, and extends from "sea to sea"

1669

which bore his name that he soon enlarged its boundaries, making its north line the present south line of Virginia and its south line a few miles north of the Spanish town of St. Augustine, while the whole grant extended "from sea to sea."

John Locke's
"grand model"



1670

Charleston founded

1695

Rice begins to be cultivated

1711

Massacres by the Tuscaroras

Settlers came from the Bermudas and from New England to the north part of Carolina, until they were numerous enough to elect an assembly to meet with a governor and his council.

When the lordly proprietors saw the prosperity of their colony, they decided to give it the best government the world had ever known. They employed the philosopher, John Locke, to draw up a constitution. He planned an aristocracy, with the offices divided between

barons and nobles. The common people, who were to have no voice in the government, were to be bought and sold with the land much as the serfs were, at that time, in Russia. The hardy settlers laughed at this ridiculous attempt to turn them into slaves; and in the end, the proprietors gave up the costly experiment, and permitted the people to continue to elect an Assembly and make their own laws. Immigrants came to Carolina in great numbers. Charleston was settled, and, when rice was found to be profitable in the south part of Carolina, more came than ever. Fields of thirty and forty acres of rice were laid out along the Ashley River, and many negroes were imported.

There was constant fear of Indians. The Tuscaroras on the north tried in vain to stay the tide of immigration. They lurked in the forests to destroy small parties of trappers and wood-choppers, and then, getting their clans together, laid waste the settlements with torch and scalping knife. But all the struggles of the Indians had

the same end. Like the Algonquins of New England, the Tuscaroras of Carolina gave way before the white men. They gathered their women and children, their hatchets and skins together, and, moving north to their kinsmen in New York, became the sixth nation among the Iroquois.

After a time, Carolina was made a royal province and divided into North Carolina and South Carolina. Each province had its own royal governor, and an Assembly elected by the people.

Now, at the very time that Charles II gave away the vast territory of Carolina to some court favorites, he was deeply in debt to others.

Among the large sums he owed were sixteen thousand pounds (about eighty thousand dollars), due Admiral Sir William Penn. This distinguished naval officer had a son named William, who refused a brilliant career at court to become a Quaker. The Quakers, as we have seen, were much despised and persecuted in England and the colonies. But they could not be bribed or punished into doing what they believed was wrong.

Oliver Cromwell said, "They are a people I can not win with gifts, honors, or places."

Their leader, George Fox, declared it was wrong to bow, or "scrape the leg" to any one. They would not remove their broad brim hats, even before the king, and kept them on their heads so much that the wits of London said: "Their virtue must lie in their hats as Samson's did in his hair!"

The plain garb of the Quakers was in great contrast with the belaced and beribboned apparel of the cavaliers. They said "thee" and "thou," would not serve

1715
The Tuscaroras
become the
sixth nation

1729
North Carolina and
South Carolina
become royal
provinces



WILLIAM PENN
1644-1718

George Fox, the
founder of the
Society of Friends,
or Quakers

The peculiar
customs of the
Quakers

in the army, or make oath in court; and they seemed to take pride in being punished for their religious views. When it was reported around the streets that young Penn had turned "Quaker or some other melancholy thing," he became the sport of all his old boon companions. The proud Admiral was greatly distressed at this change in his promising son. He sent him to Paris, hoping he might lose his religion. Penn was presented at the court of Louis XIV, and seemed for a time to be his old self again; but soon after his return to London, the plague broke out, and his religious fervor burned brighter than ever. He was turned into the street by his father, and imprisoned in Newgate, and fined several times by the courts.

William Penn at the
gay court of
Louis XIV

1665

The London plague

Penn inherits his
father's estate

1674

Lord Berkeley sells
West Jersey to a
company of
Quakers

1676

The heirs of Sir
George Carteret sell
East Jersey to Penn
and other Quakers

1681

Penn's Woodland

In the end the old Admiral learned to respect his son's devotion to his religion. He summoned him home, and, at his death, made him his heir. About this time, an association of Quakers bought West Jersey, and then William Penn and some of his friends bought East Jersey. Penn became active in sending Quakers to colonize East Jersey. The enterprise succeeded so well that he resolved to provide a home for all persecuted Christians. He asked "Friend Charles" to grant the land west of the Jerseys in exchange for the sixteen thousand pounds still due his estate. This seemed to the thoughtless king a very good way to cancel his debt, and he issued the patent for a vast tract which he called Penn's Woodland, or Pennsylvania. Penn and his heirs were made sole proprietors of the province, and required to pay two beaver skins every year to prove their loyalty to the crown. Penn drew up a liberal constitution for the government of a colony, and established bureaus for immigration all over Europe.

Early the following year he sent a shipload of Quakers

to Pennsylvania; and in October he came himself with a hundred more settlers. That he might have an outlet to the ocean through the noble river on the east, he had purchased what is now Delaware from the Duke of York; and when he landed at New Castle, the authority over that country was transferred to the new governor.

1682

Penn purchases
Delaware

It is said that, under a spreading elm on the bank of the Delaware, he assembled the Indians who claimed Pennsylvania, and bought the province again, and made a treaty which lasted longer than he lived.

1683

Penn makes a treaty
with the Delaware
Indians

Penn divided his province into counties and lots, and put up the land for sale at forty shillings for a hundred acres. Then he founded a city, called Philadelphia, or "Brotherly Love," laying it out in squares with broad avenues; and he ordered a handsome house built for himself. At the end of two years Philadelphia had two thousand inhabitants, and the whole province nearly eight thousand.

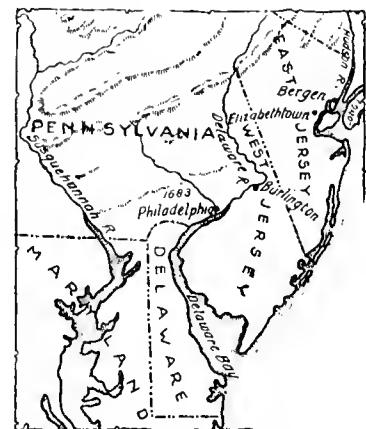
Penn was soon called to England, but the colony continued to grow, so that when he again visited America, there were more than twenty thousand settlers, and Philadelphia was almost a rival of Boston. This rapid growth was largely due to the fact that absolute freedom of conscience was allowed in the province.

1684

Penn returns
to England

1699

He visits his colony



When three counties on the Delaware asked for a government of their own, Penn allowed them to elect an Assembly, but they still acknowledged the same governor as Pennsylvania.

1703

Delaware elects its
own assembly

Many years after William Penn had been laid away to rest in a quiet churchyard in England, James Oglethorpe, who had served as an officer with Marlborough on the famous battlefields of Europe, planned to found a colony in America. While a member of Parliament, Oglethorpe

1732

James Oglethorpe
plans to found a
home for the
unfortunate

had learned about the wretched condition of prisoners for debt, and many hundred debtors were set free through his influence. After disgrace in the jails a man could hardly ever succeed in his old neighborhood, so Oglethorpe resolved to found a settlement in America which would give to the unhappy debtors a chance to begin life over again. When he sought aid for his project, Parliament made an appropriation of money, and benevolent people contributed to the good work.

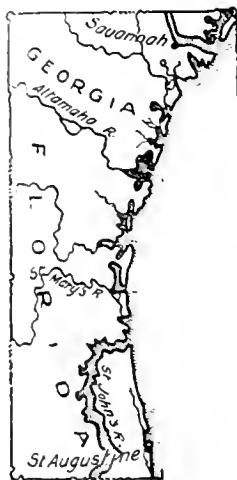
George II gives a charter for settlers in the south part of South Carolina

The province of Georgia

King George II determined to take a slice off his royal province of South Carolina for the new colony. The people of that province did not object to this. They were glad to have a settlement between themselves and the Spaniards of Florida, who were causing a great deal of trouble. Oglethorpe and a few others received "in trust for the poor" the land between the Savannah and the Altamaha Rivers, and a strip extending west from the sources of these rivers to the Pacific Ocean. They called the province Georgia in honor of the king. The noble Oglethorpe left luxuries and honors at court that he might aid in making homes for the homeless.

With a colony of over a hundred paupers he founded the town of Savannah. He made peace with the Cherokees from the mountain streams of the Blue Ridge, and with the Choctaws from the fertile valley of the lower Mississippi, and even with the Creeks, who claimed the land.

Because of the delightful climate, and the liberal charter of Georgia, German-Lutherans, Scotch-Highlanders, and French Protestants pressed forward across the ocean to find homes there. They came first to Savannah, and Governor Oglethorpe often accompanied



1733
Settlement of
Savannah

The liberal charter
of Georgia encourages immigration

them through the forest to some river, lake, or bay; and when the good man visited the scattered settlements, they gave him a joyous greeting.

He praised the Germans for their thrift and good cheer; he pleased the Scotch by donning the Highland plaid as he approached their village on the Altamaha; he talked to the French in their native tongue; and throughout all the province of Georgia there was peace and content because of the wise and just laws which Oglethorpe made.

Georgia was the last English province established in what is now the United States. Henceforth the sea will be white with the sails of commerce; thousands of settlers will enter the ports along the Atlantic to strengthen the colonies until the mountains that bind them to the sea are overrun. Will the smiling valleys beyond receive them?

Georgia, the last
English colony

CHAPTER XIV

UNDER THE ROYAL GOVERNORS

WHILE the English colonies were clinging close to the sea, busy with farming, fishing, and trade, the French to the north settled Acadia, comprising what is now New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and a portion of Maine, and New France, which included the valley of the St. Lawrence and the lakes feeding that river.

Missions grew rapidly on the St. Lawrence after Samuel de Champlain built a fort at Quebec.

Quebec had, before Harvard was founded at Cambridge, a college to educate the Indian converts.

The French
colonies

1608

Champlain founded
Quebec.

Father Dreuillettes
and the Rev. John
Eliot

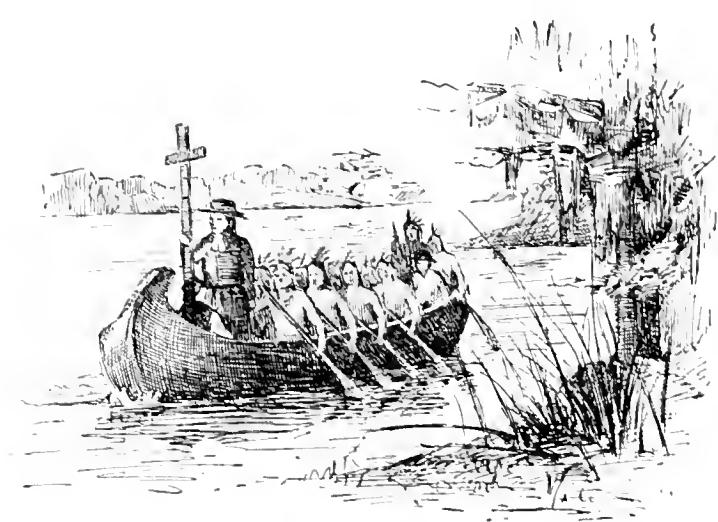
The French traders

Jesuit priests planted churches along the northern lakes, and it is said that Father Dreuillettes, who established a mission on the Penobscot, paid the Rev. John Eliot a friendly visit at Roxbury to plan how best they might save the souls of the red men.

But not all the French were thus bent on saving the souls of the red men. The restless French traders made peace with the warriors, and married the dusky maidens of the forest; they changed rude wigwams into

cottages, and grouped these into villages, which soon became the centers of trade.

When Father Pierre Marquette and Louis Joliet, a merchant, heard the Indians talk of the Mississippi River, they thought it might be the long-sought passage to India, and resolved to explore it. With six



FATHER MARQUETTE

1673
Marquette and
Joliet on the
Mississippi

companions, in two light birch-bark canoes, they passed from Lake Michigan by land and stream, to the Mississippi, and sped on beyond the Ohio until they reached the mouth of the Arkansas River. Here provisions gave out, and they returned to Montreal after many adventures among the Indians.

Then Robert de la Salle,¹ a young French cavalier, heard of the great river and its wonderful beaver lands. With a few other adventurers he reached the site of what is now Chicago. Dragging their boats up the

1681
La Salle at the site
of Chicago

¹ Read Parkman's "La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West."

frozen Chicago River to the Illinois, the explorers floated down the Mississippi, and finally reached the Gulf of Mexico. On the shore of the gulf, La Salle set up a cross, and took possession of the valley of the Mississippi and of its tributaries in the name of Louis XIV, and called it Louisiana. These new lands claimed by France extended from the Alleghany Mountains to the Rocky Mountains, the two ranges, where the rivers which swept down into the gulf, found their sources.

Now the English, as we have seen, claimed all this land as far west as the Pacific Ocean, because they had first sighted the east coast of the continent during the voyages of the Cabots. Most of their charters granted tracts "from sea to sea." But La Salle said that actual discovery and possession were worth all the claims in the world; and he built a fort on the Illinois and trading posts on other rivers. The heroic man was shot by some jealous comrades while he was attempting to establish a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi River.

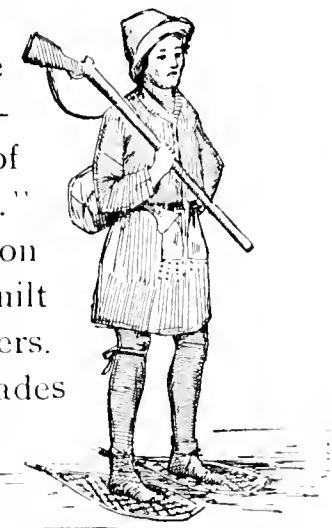
Then Henri de Tonti, called the "Iron Hand," from a knot of metal covered with leather instead of the hand he had lost in battle, strengthened the forts on the Illinois, and Cadillac built Detroit near Lake Huron; so that by the opening of the eighteenth century, the French trappers were traveling from Hudson's Bay to the Gulf of Mexico.

Meantime, to cut off the English from the fur trade on the lakes, the French planned to conquer New York. But between themselves and the settlements on the Hudson, were the Iroquois, or Five Nations, who had made treaties of peace with the English.

"Capture the Iroquois, and send them to France as slaves," wrote Louis XIV. This, however, was not

1682

Louisiana becomes a province of France
(April 9)



FRENCH TRAPPER

Henri de Tonti strengthens the posts on the Illinois

1701
Cadillac builds Fort Detroit

The French plan to conquer New York

The French try to
bribe the Iroquois to
make war upon
the English

such an easy thing to do. The French tried to bribe them to take up arms against the English; but they would not dig up the hatchet they had buried under a little Dutch church. They donned their best war paint, and swooping down on the Indians south of the lakes, who were allies of the French, they drove them beyond the Illinois.

On their way back to New York, the Iroquois turned their tomahawks against the settlers along the frontiers of Virginia, which caused the governor of Virginia to come up to Albany to make a treaty of peace. When the governors of New York and Virginia met them in solemn council, the chiefs smoked the calumet, and pledged to keep peace with the English forever. They asked that the coat-of-arms of the Duke of York be nailed over the doors of their "long houses" to protect them from the French.

This treaty with the Iroquois was of vast importance to the English. It was a safeguard against the French; and it brought the colonies of the South into alliance with those of the North. We shall find that Virginia soon made common cause with New England in defense of her soil.

Complaints against
Governor Andros

Now New England under the rule of a royal governor was very unhappy. The frontiers were harassed by hostile Indians, and the people strongly suspected that Governor Andros was plotting to surrender the provinces to the French. When he built forts far up on the frontiers and sent hundreds of the best New England troops for garrisons, they said it was because he wished to be rid of that many soldiers; and when he sent presents to the Five Nations, they said he was giving a bribe to induce the red men to make war on New England.

They were just about to rebel against the governor's

authority when strange news came from over the sea. It was reported that the people of England would not tolerate the rule of the tyrant James any longer, and had invited his nephew and daughter, William and Mary, to reign in his stead. A signal on Beacon Hill summoned the soldiers of Duxbury, Marshfield, and all the settlements on the bay into Boston.

The magistrates who had held office before the rule of Andros, assembled in the Council Chamber to deliberate what should be done. At last they appeared on the balcony of the Town Hall, and to the people who stood in the street below they recounted the wrongs of the province since the charter had been taken away. They demanded that Governor Andros give up his authority. The trembling tool of the king, after three years of rule, surrendered his seal, and was hurried off to prison.

It was bold to seize thus a royal governor. If the cause of Parliament should fail, King James would show no mercy to his rebellious colonies.

The Puritans watched the sea anxiously; and when a royal squadron arrived with orders from Parliament to proclaim William and Mary king and queen of England, they were wild for very joy.

Because Boston was the capital, people from all New England flocked there to celebrate the event. A dinner was given at the Town Hall for the magistrates and people of quality; a parade was held on the Common; and, at night, there was merrymaking till the bell in the Town Hall rang at nine o'clock for bed.

And then prayers of thanksgiving were offered in thousands of homes because the colonies were delivered from the oppressions of King James II.

Andros was sent to England for trial. Massachusetts asked Governor Bradstreet to resume his robes of office.

1680

King James II
deposed, and Will-
iam and Mary of
Orange invited to
rule in England

The magistrates of
Boston assemble
again in the council
chamber

Andros is imprisoned

William and Mary
proclaimed king and
queen of England

The colonies resume
self-government

Plymouth spread out the compact she had framed on the *Mayflower*. Rhode Island put her broken seal together again. Connecticut brought forth her beloved charter from the old oak tree; and all the colonies of New England ruled themselves again until they might hear what was the royal pleasure of King William III.

CHAPTER XV

WAR, WITCHES, AND PIRATES

1680-1713

Louis XIV favors
the cause of the
exiled James II

1680-1697
King William's war

1680
The Iroquois
besiege Montreal

1690
Massacre at
Schenectady



HEN Louis XIV received the exiled James at his court and treated him as a king, England engaged in a war with France which soon extended to the colonies in America.

Louis sent Count De Frontenac to Canada, and ordered him to conquer New York. Frontenac put on war paint and feathers, danced with the Algonquin Indians along the St. Lawrence, and prepared to lead an expedition down the Hudson.

But the Iroquois, or Five Nations, hurried to besiege Montreal, and they kept the French governor busy at home for the rest of the year.

In the following February, Frontenac sent a company of French and Indians to New York. They set fire to Schenectady, and massacred nearly the whole town. For several months French troops followed Indian guides through the forests of Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts to lay waste the settlements.

Meanwhile commissioners from Connecticut, Plymouth, Massachusetts, and New York met at New York City, and planned expeditions against Canada.

Sir William Phips, with two thousand Massachusetts volunteers, seized Port Royal in Acadia, and attempted to take Quebec, but failed.

About this time King William announced his good pleasures concerning the government of the colonies. He allowed Connecticut and Rhode Island to keep their old charters. He gave Massachusetts a new charter, but kept control of the province.

The shrewd monarch knew very well that he must wage bitter war along the St. Lawrence or lose his American colonies. So to protect the frontiers he annexed Maine, Acadia, and Plymouth to Massachusetts. Then he placed royal governors over New York, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts. In all three provinces he allowed the people to hold their own town meetings and elect their own legislatures, with all religious restrictions removed; but the governors who had the power of veto and might dissolve the assemblies, were the supreme judges of the courts and the commanders-in-chief of the militias.

Governor Fletcher, of New York, was ordered to control the militia of the neighboring colonies, and soon marched to Hartford to show his authority. It was training day when he reached the town. The militia was drawn up on the green in command of the same Captain Wadsworth, who had hidden the charter in the oak.

The governor began to read his royal commission, but the captain straightway stopped him. He said that Connecticut had a charter from the king, which gave her control of her own troops. When Governor Fletcher

Sir William Phips
seizes Port Royal

Colonial government
under William III

1692

Governor Fletcher
at Hartford

Captain Wadsworth
and his militia

began again to read. Captain Wadsworth ordered the drums to drown his voice; and the would-be-commander returned to New York in disgust. This event so delighted the people of Connecticut that they elected the captain governor.

1692
Sir William Phips is
made the royal
governor of
Massachusetts

To please Massachusetts, King William appointed an American as governor, who was no other than Sir William Phips.

Now the way a poor American boy came to receive the title of "Sir" was this: while hewing trees in Maine for ship timber, William Phips heard of the wreck of a Spanish galleon laden with gold. He determined to recover the treasure, built his own ship, and sailed for the wreck. The expedition failed. Hearing of another stranded vessel off the coast of South America, Phips went to England for help to find it. James II was then king; he was pleased with the eager young sailor, and fitted out a ship at his own expense. When this voyage proved also unsuccessful, the crew urged Phips to turn pirate, but this he refused to do.

1687

Through the aid of some English nobles he made another search for the gold. With Indian divers, hooks, and rakes he fished out vast treasures from the sea, and sailed back to England with over two million dollars. He became the hero of the hour, and was knighted by the king and toasted by the lords, who received a large share of the spoils.

1690

When King James made him sheriff of New England, he built a handsome house in Boston, and was dwelling there in grand style as "the famous Sir William Phips," when the capture of Acadia made him more famous than ever; and so King William, thinking the people would prefer a native American, appointed him governor of Massachusetts.

The romantic career
of Phips

The war with the French and the Indians continued by land and sea, until, at last, a treaty of peace was signed at Ryswick, in Holland. Acadia was given back to the French, and England paid Massachusetts for the expenses of the expedition against it.

Meanwhile, witches were more feared in the little Puritan towns than even the French or their Indians.

For many years people in the countries of Europe had been burned at the stake for witchcraft. It began to be whispered about in New England that witches had found their way across the sea. The whole town of Salem was soon deluded into the belief that witches were there.

Twenty innocent persons were put to death on the charge of witchcraft, and hundreds were imprisoned in Massachusetts. But when good Lady Phips, the governor's wife, and several high officials of blameless lives were accused, the judges began to return to their senses. Some confessions were finally made which were proved so false that the prisoners were all set free.¹

Besides the witches, there were the pirates. From the time of Sir Francis Drake, pirates had infested the coast of America; and after the colonies began to prosper, the sea robbers grew very bold. They found ready sale in the seaports of Europe for cargoes of dried cod, bales of tobacco, or a few hundred packs of beaver and mink skins.

At one time the entire coast was under the sway of Blackbeard. Ships from Boston were scuttled; sloops from Connecticut, bearing sheep and cattle, were boarded, and scows from Rhode Island were towed away to South American markets.

At last, the king of pirates met his fate in the person of an English officer who sailed into the James River

1697

Treaty of Ryswick

1692

Salem witchcraft

¹ Read Longfellow's "New England Tragedies."

1718

Benjamin Franklin
composes a ditty
on the death of
Blackbeard

with the head of Blackbeard nailed to the bowsprit. And Benjamin Franklin, a lively young printer, composed a song on the death of Blackbeard that was sung through the streets of Boston.

Some other pirates were Captain Tew, of New York, who won a fortune on the sea; Captain Avery, who hid his booty in Boston; and Captain Low, who hated all men in New England, and made the master of a whaling vessel, off the coast of Maine, eat his own ears with pepper and salt.

After the French war began, privateers caused almost as much trouble as pirates. Privateering was then thought to be only a war on the sea, and to capture and plunder their vessels seemed a good way to weaken the enemy.

But, strange to say, it very often happened that when a merchant captain put cannon at his portholes, received a commission from his governor to capture French vessels, and sailed away breathing vengeance on the French, he soon turned pirate, and was off on the high seas plundering any ship he could find.

This turning of privateers into pirates became notorious, and when King William heard of it, he said it must be stopped. Proclamations were accordingly published by drum beats through the towns on the coast, requiring officers to arrest suspected persons, and warning people not to harbor any pirates in their homes. By order of the king, Captain Kidd was put in command of a cruiser with thirty guns, and he set sail from Plymouth, England, to punish the pirates. Captain Kidd went the way of all others. He turned pirate himself, and hid his plunder on an island of Narragansett Bay. At last, he was captured, taken to Boston, and then sent to London where he was tried, condemned, and hanged.

The privateers

Privateers become
pirates

1697

Captain Kidd sets
sail from Plymouth
to punish the pirates

Henceforth there was little more trouble with privateers turning pirates.

The peace which followed King William's war did not last very long. Soon after hostilities began again, King William died, and Queen Anne, his sister-in-law, continued the war with both France and Spain.

One winter the French and Indians sped down on their snowshoes to Deerfield, Mass., set fire to the village, and killed or carried away all of its people. Along the frontier of New England the farmer in the field and his wife and children at the fireside were killed and scalped without mercy, until troops were raised for land and sea to conquer Canada.

A fleet of ships with English and Colonial troops captured Port Royal again; and, the following year, thirty-two vessels sailed up the St. Lawrence to take Quebec. But eight ships, drifting in a thick fog against the rocks, went to pieces, and a thousand soldiers were drowned. The rest of the fleet returned home, and towns continued to be burned and people massacred along the frontier of New England.

Meanwhile there was war in South Carolina against the Spaniards. English troops could not conquer the stout fort of St. Augustine; but when four years later a French and Spanish fleet sailed up the harbor to Charleston, the brave people repelled the invaders, and drove them back to Cuba.

When peace was patched up again by the treaty of Utrecht, Acadia was left in possession of the English, who called the province Nova Scotia, and changed the name of Port Royal to Annapolis, in honor of Queen Anne. France and England kept the peace for many years; but the Indian allies of the French still made attacks on the frontier of the North. There was not a

1701-1713
Queen Anne's war

1704
The French and Indians attack Deerfield

1710
Acadia again taken by the English

1702
The expedition against St. Augustine

1713
The treaty of Utrecht

single English settlement for more than a hundred miles on the east coast of Maine, and the canoes of the red men glided undisturbed among its many bays.

CHAPTER XVI

THE WESTWARD MARCH

1713 - 1754

A long peace follows Queen Anne's war

IN the long years of peace which followed Queen Anne's war the colonies began again to prosper. Pirates trembled then instead of thrifty merchants, and proud ships bore the products of plantation, farm, and forest to distant shores, and hastened back laden with the wares of Europe.

The settlers who were engaged in foreign commerce and the fisheries clung closely to the sea; but a few hardy adventurers began to look about for more trade with the Indians. They pushed boldly toward the western frontiers of New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia; herdsmen of South Carolina drove their cattle farther west to feed upon the uplands; indented servants, when free to find homes of their own, threaded Indian trails to the slopes of the mountains, and pitched their tents until they might build houses from the forests; and, when religious persecution in Europe drove more emigrants across the sea, the German Lutherans and the Scotch-Irish pressed toward the mountains of the West.¹

The movement toward the West

Soon the eastern slopes of the Alleghanies were dotted with neat farms and hunting lodges. But no one yet knew what lay beyond the mountains.

¹ Read Roosevelt's "Winning of the West."

About this time Sir Alexander Spotswood came to Virginia as governor. He was an enthusiastic sportsman, and, when weary of petty disputes with his burgesses, sought relaxation in a chase through the glades of the neighboring forest. The gallant governor soon sighed for new worlds to conquer. He mounted and armed some cavaliers, and, with rangers, and Indian guides, and plenty of provisions, set out to find what lay beyond the Blue Ridge.

The explorers hunted as they toiled, with many a jest, up the rugged mountain side. When they reached the dividing line where the waters part to flow east and west, they looked with astonishment over the valleys, forests, and flowing streams, which stretched far beyond toward the setting sun. They took possession of the land in the name of King George I, and returned, with great flourish of trumpets, to Williamsburg.

So important did Governor Spotswood deem the event that he gave golden horseshoes for badges to those who had drunk to the king's health on the top of Mount George.

A new interest in the West was aroused by this famous expedition; trappers pushed more boldly beyond the stone wall of the Alleghanies, and, after a few years, some Scotch-Irish, Quakers, and Germans crossed from Pennsylvania and Virginia into the rich valley of the Shenandoah. They were hardy and bold. They sought homes for themselves, and were content with small farms and few slaves. There were no cavaliers among them, and we shall see that the settlers west of the Blue Ridge became so different in thought and life from those on the bottom lands, east of the mountains, that they formed themselves into a separate State to be known as West Virginia.

Governor Spotswood
plans an expedition

1716

A glimpse beyond
the Blue Ridge
Mountains

"The Knights of the
Golden Horseshoe"

1730-40

The Shenandoah
valley is settled

Now, although the English in America were at peace with the French for many years after Queen Anne's war, England, in order to extend her commerce to the ports of South America, declared war with Spain, and called for volunteers from the colonies. This Spanish war brought the soldiers of the North and the South together, and helped to knit a bond of sympathy between them. While the Georgia and South Carolina troops under Governor Oglethorpe were besieging St. Augustine, companies of soldiers from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina enlisted under Sir Alexander Spotswood, our Knight of the Golden Horseshoe, to sail to South America. The expedition was a sad failure from the beginning. The gallant Spotswood died while waiting for the troops at Annapolis, Md. Under the leadership of another commander over three thousand Americans, eager to measure their prowess with the soldiers of England, joined Admiral Vernon at Jamaica.

From there, fifteen thousand troops weighed anchor, only to face death at Cartagena. After an intrepid assault, they were beaten back from the strong fortress. Then a fever of the tropics spread through the fleet, and hundreds who died of the pest were thrown into the sea. Less than five hundred of the recruits from the colonies came back to their homes.

Many Americans won distinction in this expedition against the Spaniards. Among them was Lawrence Washington, who though only twenty years old served as captain of one of the Virginia regiments. On his return, Washington named his estate on the Potomac "Mount Vernon," in honor of Admiral Vernon, little dreaming that his eleven-year-old brother, George,

1739
England declares a
commercial war
against Spain

1740
Expedition to
Cartagena

1743
The Washington
estate is named
Mount Vernon

would one day make the spot more famous than any other in America. A siege against St. Augustine was unsuccessful, and, two years later, when the Spaniards invested a fort in Georgia, they were forced to retreat by the strategy of Oglethorpe.

While peace had lingered on the banks of the St. Lawrence, the French were very busy preparing to shut the English out of the Mississippi valley. They founded New Orleans, fortified Detroit, built Fort Niagara, and Fort Crown Point on Lake Champlain ; they strengthened all their trading posts, until from the mouth of the Mississippi to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, there was a chain of sixty forts. They planned to win back Nova Scotia, and built a stout fortress on Cape Breton Island, which they named Louisburg after King Louis XV.

When France declared hostilities in the "War of the Austrian Succession," or "King George's War," the French garrison of Louisburg attacked the English posts in Nova Scotia. Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, then sent William Pepperell with New England troops against Louisburg. Aided by a fleet from England, they took the great fortress after a siege of six weeks. Three years later, by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, England restored Louisburg to the French.

The French were now more determined than ever to hold their territory in America. The governor of Canada sent Céloron de Bienville and others to take formal possession of the valley of the Ohio River. They nailed the lilies of France on the forest trees, and buried plates of lead, inscribed with the legend that the country belonged to France.

King George II, however, was determined to secure the Ohio valley by settlement, and offered a vast tract to any company that would induce a hundred families to

The French found
New Orleans (1718)
and build Forts
Niagara (1726) and
Crown Point (1731)

1744-1748
"King George's
war"

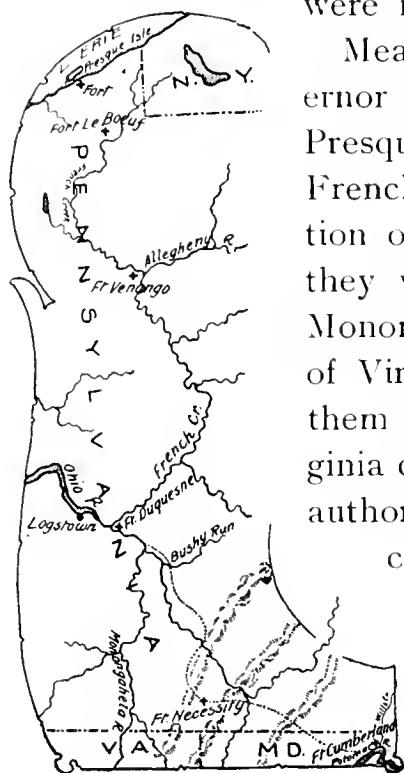
1745
The capture of
Louisburg

1748
The treaty of
Aix-la-Chapelle

George II offers
inducements to
settlers in the
Ohio valley

1740

The Ohio Company
surveys the country



1753

George Washington
carries a message to
the French

colonize it. The Ohio Company sent Christopher Gist, to survey the land. When Gist returned, he gave such glowing accounts of the beautiful valley that the English were more anxious than ever to make it their own.

Meanwhile, under Marquis Duquesne, the governor of Canada, the French were building Fort Presque Isle, on Lake Erie, Fort Lebœuf, on French Creek, and Fort Venango, near the junction of French Creek and the Allegheny River ; they were preparing to fortify the banks of the Monongahela when Governor Robert Dinwiddie, of Virginia, resolved to send a messenger to warn them away from western Pennsylvania, which Virginia claimed under her charter. He said he had authority to do this because of Virginia's second charter, and because of the claims of the Ohio Company.

He chose George Washington, then twenty-one years old, to carry the message. Washington was a practical surveyor. He was skilled in woodcraft, knew much about

Indians, and was pleasing and dignified in his manners. With Christopher Gist and some others, the young envoy first found his way across the mountains to Ligonier, an English trading station on the Ohio, to learn what he could about the French. Then he pushed on to Fort Lebœuf, and delivered his dispatches. The French commandant said he would send the letters to Duquesne, and, until he received further orders, would hold all the forts. Washington returned to Virginia,

noting well the best points for new forts. He reported that the head of the Ohio was the Key to the West; and, accordingly, Governor Dinwiddie sent out a force of forty men, under William Trent, to fortify it.

1754

William Trent
attempts to build a
fort at the head
of the Ohio
(February)

CHAPTER XVII

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

1754-1763

THE French, while the English were working at a stockade fort near the head waters of the Ohio River, came down the Allegheny in boats and drove them away.¹ They then finished the fort themselves and named it Fort Duquesne. Colonel George Washington set out with troops to capture the French garrison. A few miles from the fort he met a detachment of the enemy, and routed them completely.

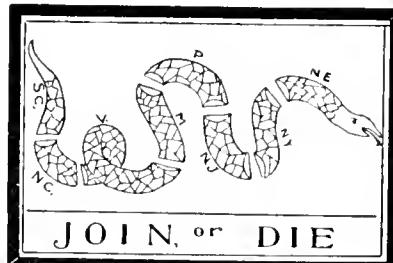
At Fort Necessity, which he had built in the Great Meadows, he was soon surrounded by the French and Indians, and after a sharp skirmish, was forced to surrender. Although this expedition failed in its object, the young colonel had shown such valor that the Virginia House of Burgesses passed a vote of thanks for his services.

Benjamin Franklin published an account of the battle at Great Meadows in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, and at the head of the column was the picture of a snake divided into parts, representing the colonies, with the motto, "Join or Die." All the colonies began to realize that a struggle for supremacy in America had begun.

Training day was no longer a holiday. Troops in homespun rallied from every town; British grenadiers in

Fort Duquesne
built by the French

1754
The French and
Indian war is begun
(May 28)



B. FRANKLIN'S "JOIN OR DIE"

Benjamin Franklin's
motto

¹ Read Chapman's "The French in the Allegheny Valley."

red coats and Scotch Highlanders in plaids came from over the sea to fight the French in Canada, and the Iroquois in war paints, hurried from the Mohawk to assist them.

1755

General Braddock
meets the colonial
governors at Alex-
andria (April 14)

General Edward Braddock, commander-in-chief of the American armies, met the colonial governors at Alexandria and planned a campaign. Braddock himself, with Washington as aide-de-camp, marched northwest with nearly two thousand men to take Fort Duquesne.

The rough frontiersmen were put in the rear of the grenadiers who marched through the forest with banners flying and bayonets set, as if on a dress parade. Young Washington advised sending scouts to scour the woods; he tried to explain the Indian methods of fighting, and urged that the colonial troops should meet the first shock. But the proud general, who had won honors on the battlefields of Europe, would not listen. He said the Indians might terrify colonial troops, but they could make no impression on the king's regulars.

The army marched on. Silence reigned in the forest. Not an enemy was in sight. At about ten miles from the fort the stately line approached two ravines covered with trees and long grass, where the French and their red allies waited. War whoops sounded shrilly out of the death trap, and then came the terrible struggle. The regulars huddled together in the open field; but the colonials disobeyed orders, and hid behind trees to fight, Indian fashion. Washington was everywhere. His coat was riddled with bullets, and horse after horse fell beneath him. One chieftain ordered his warriors to aim straight at the dashing young paleface. Their bullets splintered the trees, and mowed down others about him; but Washington remained unhurt. "A

Braddock's defeat
July 9)

Manitou protects him!" shouted the warriors, and dared aim at him no more.

More than half of the proud English army was slain and the remainder fled in a panic.¹

General Braddock died from his wounds near Fort Necessity, and over his forest grave Washington, for lack of a chaplain, read reverently the service. It was soon known that the courage of Washington had saved the flying remnants from death. A noted minister from his pulpit extolled the courage of the heroic youth: "I can not but hope," he said, "that Providence has spared him, in so signal a manner, for some important service to his country."

Afterward, when Washington was sent as a delegate to the House of Burgesses, the speaker thanked him on behalf of Virginia, for his valiant services during the war. The young hero arose in confusion. He hesitated.

"Sit down, Mr. Washington," said the speaker, "your modesty equals your valor, and that surpasses the power of any language I possess."

During the campaign of Braddock in the West, three expeditions were made to conquer Canada. The Acadians were removed from their homes. They had been conquered, as we have seen, during Queen Anne's war; but they still spoke French, and secretly aided their kinsmen on the St. Lawrence. A fleet from Massachusetts carried them away from Nova Scotia, and scattered them through the colonies.²

Sir William Johnson with Scotch grenadiers, provincials, and Iroquois defeated the French under Dieskau,

Honors for young Washington

1755

The Acadians removed from Nova Scotia

Sir William Johnson defeats Dieskau on Lake George

¹ Read Parkman's "Montcalm and Wolfe," and Sargeant's "History of Braddock's Expedition."

² Read Longfellow's "Evangeline."

on Lake George, and built Fort William Henry to protect the trails to the Hudson.

General Shirley
fails to take
Fort Niagara

While Governor Shirley on his way to Oswego was waiting for re-enforcements to surround Fort Niagara, his Iroquois heard of Braddock's defeat, and they deserted in such numbers that, after having garrisoned a new fort at Oswego, Shirley marched back to Boston without attempting to take Fort Niagara.

1756
The formal
declaration of war
(May)
General Montcalm

The following year, Great Britain issued a formal declaration of war. King Louis made Montcalm commander of the French armies, and King George sent more generals and more troops to conquer Canada.

The Iroquois lose
faith in the English

The British officers treated the colonial troops with contempt; they would not allow an American to hold high rank in the army, and ignored the advice of the sturdy frontiersman who knew that the French Indians could never be successfully fought after the British fashion. The Iroquois soon lost faith in the British. They laughed at the wheezy old generals, whom high living had made so fat. "With Indians, war feathers mean something," they said. "But when officers swell out their chests and keep their fellow soldiers standing before them with hats in their hands, they only breed cowards, and it is no wonder the British are so often defeated."

1757
The French still in
possession of all the
Ohio Valley

In spite of the heroic efforts of John Stark, Israel Putnam, and other brave scouts on the St. Lawrence, and of George Washington and the colonial troops on the western frontier, affairs went so badly that, after three years of war, the French still controlled the northern lakes and the Ohio valley. Great Britain was in despair. Her treasury was nearly exhausted, and affairs in the colonies were worse off than ever.

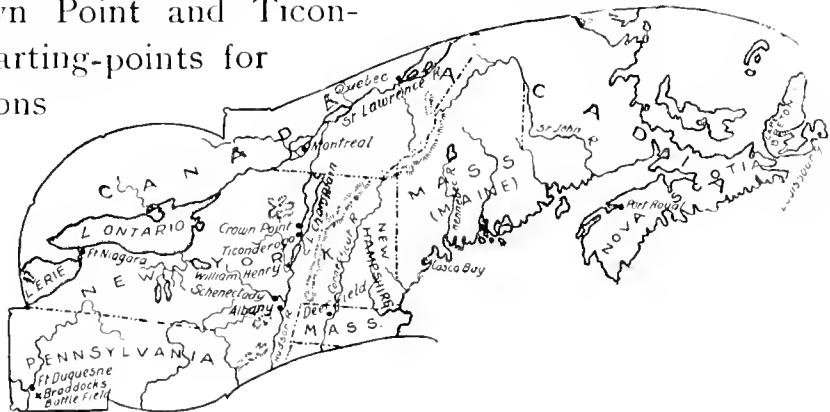
Then William Pitt, the "Great Commoner," took the

lead in Parliament. He learned all he could about Indian warfare. He saw that Ft. Duquesne was the Key to the West, that Louisburg gave shelter to French privateers, that Crown Point and Ticonderoga were the starting-points for the French expeditions to the south, that Niagara prevented the English fur trade on the lakes, and that Quebec controlled the St. Lawrence. He determined to gain possession of all these places.

He said that Americans should be promoted in the ranks, and that they should act as scouts, and fight Indian fashion whenever it seemed necessary. Pitt so won the hearts of the Americans that they hurried to enlist for a new campaign. Soon twenty-five thousand colonials in buckskin were side by side with an equal number of redcoats. General Amherst and Admiral Boscawen captured the fortress of Louisburg, with its cannon and two thousand men. General Forbes and Colonel Washington marched northwest with an army, and soon changed the name of Fort Duquesne to Fort Pitt. But Abercrombie was defeated at Ticonderoga by Montcalm.

The following year, the British and colonial army swept in three great divisions toward the St. Lawrence. Niagara, Ticonderoga, and Crown Point were captured.

Quebec, in command of General Montcalm, was besieged by General Wolfe, who had won distinction at Louisburg. During July and August Wolfe's army and fleet tried in vain to find a weak place in the fortress; but, at last, a steep path up its rocky cliff was discovered.



1758

Capture of Fort
Louisburg (July 27)

Fort Duquesne
becomes Fort Pitt
(Nov. 25)

1759

Victories at
Niagara (July 25),
Ticonderoga
(July 26),
Crown Point
July 31

Battle on the Plains
of Abraham
(September 13th)

The death of Wolfe
and Montcalm

The fall of Quebec
(September 18th)

1763
The treaty of Paris

The Indians and the
French of the
Ohio valley

Pontiac, chief of the
Ottawas, sends war
belts to all the tribes

The whole army landed, and on the morning of the thirteenth of September, 1759, the English conquered the French on the Plains of Abraham, less than a mile from Quebec. Both commanders were killed.¹ "I die in peace!" said General Wolfe. "Thank God, I shall not live to see Quebec surrender!" cried General Montcalm. Five days later Quebec opened her gates, and, in a few months, all Canada was in possession of the English.

For three years longer war was carried on with France by sea. The fleets of Great Britain captured the Philippine Islands, and the Island of Cuba, which was the key to the Spanish settlements along the Gulf of Mexico. To regain these important seizures, Spain ceded Florida to England. Then France, on whose account Florida had been lost, ceded New Orleans and the French territory west of the Mississippi to Spain. By the treaty of Paris, Great Britain gained Canada and Cape Breton and all the territory east of the Mississippi except New Orleans. Thus by a stroke of the iron pen of war France lost her possessions in America.

The Indians of the Ohio valley found themselves deserted by their French allies on the St. Lawrence, and placed at the mercy of the English, whom they had long been taught to hate. The simple French peasants who lived about the western forts added their influence in arousing the warriors to action.

They said that the great French Father was only asleep, and would soon come to win back his lands. And, half believing it themselves, they told the Indian converts that the blessed Jesus was a Frenchman, and the cruel English had crucified him. And so Pontiac, chief of the Ottawas, sent war belts by his fleetest mes-

¹ Read Parkman's "Montcalm and Wolfe."

sengers, and the warriors in the Ohio valley united against the "dogs in red clothes." Only Niagara, Detroit, and Fort Pitt withstood the attacks. More than twenty thousand English settlers on the frontiers of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New York were driven from their homes. At last Colonel Bouquet won a battle in the Alleghanies against their united forces. The tribes sued for peace. Pontiac crossed the Mississippi, and gave no more trouble.

When Lieutenant-Governor Abbott arrived to take possession of the Ohio valley, and the cross of St. George replaced the lilies of France, and "God save the king" rang out from the old palisades, the hearts of the simple French peasants were broken. A few, unwilling to swear allegiance to England, wandered down the Mississippi to New Orleans. Many crossed the river to the Spanish garrison at St. Louis. Those who remained became good citizens under British rule. When the English garrisons arrived in Florida, most of the Spaniards emigrated to the West Indies, and soon the flag of Great Britain protected English subjects from the Arctic Ocean to the Gulf of Mexico.

1763
Defeat of Pontiac by
Colonel Bouquet
at Bushy Run

The Spaniards of
Florida emigrate
to the West Indies



ARMS OF GREAT BRITAIN

CHAPTER XVIII

THE THIRTEEN COLONIES

THE long wars, which had almost continuously laid waste the borders of the American colonies since King Philip's war, were over. The Indians were subdued, the French were conquered, and the Spaniards had quitted Florida. There had been great loss of life. More than thirty thousand brave soldiers lay sleeping under the turf. But from the handful of emigrants who landed at Jamestown, the English in America had increased to over two millions of people.

1763
The population of
the English colonies

They were scattered along the seacoast in thirteen separate colonies: New Hampshire, Massachusetts, which included Maine, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, which claimed Vermont, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

The civil
government

All the colonies had governors appointed by the king, or the proprietors, except Connecticut and Rhode Island. The law-making power was vested in an assembly and a council which together formed the legislature. The people, with certain suffrage restrictions, elected the assembly; the governor chose the council. The legislature had power to vote taxes and frame laws; but the governor exercised the right of veto. In the royal and proprietary colonies, except Maryland, a bill, passed by the legislature and signed by the governor, must be sent to England for approval, and might be "disallowed" by the king at any time within three years. To avoid the royal veto, measures were often passed for two years, and then re-enacted for two years more.

Notwithstanding the losses through war and the restrictions on trade, the little commonwealths had prospered. Their ships were found on all the seas; they carried grain from Pennsylvania and Maryland; bales of furs from New York; ship timber from Maine and Georgia; tobacco, indigo, rice, and pitch from Virginia and the Carolinas; and such vast products from the fisheries of New England that the whaling fleet of Nantucket alone was two hundred and forty sail.



A COLONIAL MANSION

This increase of wealth brought luxury. John Adams, of Massachusetts, wrote in his diary, about this time, of one home where he dined. He said it was fit for a prince, with its Turkish carpets, painted hangings, marble tables, damasks, and counterpanes, and clocks and silver.

Wealth brings luxury

Many citizens kept a coach and pair, and a few rode in great style behind four horses, with negro slaves for drivers.

After the French and Indian war was over, the English officers lingered in the larger towns. There were military reviews, dinners, and tea drinkings, and almost

Social life

as much amusement and folly as at the court of the Georges.

Dress of the period

Gentlemen of fashion wore, for dress suits, velvet coats, satin waistcoats with flap pockets, trousers to the knee, long silk hose, and high-heeled, pointed shoes with silver or gold buckles; wigs were now little seen. So many wigs had gone askew or been lost in the tangled forests during the war that the British officers, who set the fashion, declared they were a nuisance. Gentlemen generally wore their own hair powdered, and tied behind in a queue.

Ladies, whose mothers had been content with homespun, wore satin or taffeta gowns over wide hoops, with dainty kerchiefs on the neck. The hair was dressed high, and black patches on the cheek or chin were supposed to improve their beauty.

Now Parliament had watched these young colonies becoming more and more prosperous, and had already made an effort to reap some benefit from them. Navigation laws, as we have seen, confined most of the colonial trade to Great Britain. When Maryland, Pennsylvania, and some other provinces began to carry shiploads of grain into British ports, a tax was put upon American corn to protect the British farmers. And when Americans began to manufacture their own wares, the law was made that raw wool should be brought to England to be made into cloth, and crude iron to be made into tools. One colony was prohibited from taking into another products which might be secured in England. It was said that a colonial dame could not lawfully take across the boundary line a ball of yarn for an afternoon's knitting.

Navigation laws
restrict trade

1750
Manufactures
prohibited

It was only strict early training that kept Americans from all becoming smugglers with such laws as these.

As it was, there were men in every town on the coast who had wares stored away in cellars and attics which they would not care to have the revenue officers see.

England organized her new territory into provinces. The Province of Quebec was created in Canada; and Florida was divided into East and West Florida. All the western valley, from the mountains to the Mississippi and from the Great Lakes to West Florida, was set apart for the Indians. To protect the new provinces from the French and the Spaniards, an army of ten thousand British troops was scattered through the colonies. The expenses of these garrisons were to be partly borne by the Americans. And, to raise revenue, Parliament renewed the tax on sugar and molasses imported outside the British West Indies, put new taxes on coffee, French and East Indian goods, indigo, and Spanish and Portuguese wines, and voted to enforce the navigation laws more strictly.

Meantime "writs of assistance" were issued. With these writs petty constables might search private dwellings where they even *suspected* goods were unlawfully entered. Sometimes there were riots when these writs were served. James Otis, of Boston, a brilliant lawyer in the pay of the king, resigned his position to plead in the courts against the writs.

It had long been evident that the colonies should unite in such a way that, in time of war, an equal tax might be laid, both for money and men. Those out of danger had not been so ready to furnish troops as those who had suffered directly.

1763 1764
England organizes
new provinces



1763
A tax on sugar,
molasses, and a few
other articles

Writs of assistance
are enforced

1761
James Otis pleads
in the courts against
the writs

Now, however, the oppressions of Parliament affected all alike and rumors of new taxes came on every packet.

"What more will be done to restrict our trade?" asked the people anxiously.

The Stamp Act was passed. By this measure every written document, to be legal, must have a stamp with the royal seal, and the lowest price for the bits of paper was a shilling.

The Americans were willing to bear their share of the public burdens; but this tax was not by their own vote, and might easily lead to all sorts of oppression. Land owners in England voted for taxes through their representatives in Parliament. "If we may send delegates to Parliament, we are willing to be taxed by Parliament," said the land owners in America, "or we are willing to vote taxes for the king in our own general courts."

Meanwhile the king and his Parliament became more aggressive. "Every man in England," wrote Benjamin Franklin, who was then in London, "regards himself as a piece of a sovereign over America, seems to jostle himself into the throne with the king, and talks of *our* subjects in the colonies." There were many, however, even among the members of Parliament, who sided with the Americans. When some one said in debate that the colonists were "children of England's planting," Colonel Barré, who had fought by the side of Wolfe at Quebec, and knew something about the colonies, described how the Americans had been driven by persecutions to find homes in the wilderness, and declared that instead of being "children of England's planting," they were "sons of liberty." When the words of Barré reached the colonies, "Sons of Liberty" clubs were organized.

There was great indignation over the Stamp Act. In

1765

Parliament passes
the Stamp Act
(March 22)

Sons of Liberty

the Virginia Assembly, Patrick Henry made a great speech against it. "Cæsar had his Brutus," he cried, "Charles the First his Cromwell, and George III [‘Treason! Treason!’” shouted some king’s men] may profit by their example,” continued the patriot, and added: “If that be treason, make the most of it!”

George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and other young Virginians listened to Henry’s speech, and agreed with every word of it. Henry drew up a set of resolutions on the fly-leaf of an old law book, declaring that the first settlers of Virginia had brought with them the privileges of Englishmen; that, since taxation by their own representatives was a privilege of Englishmen, it was a privilege of Virginians, who would not consent to taxation without representation.

The boldness of the Virginians inspired the other colonies. They refused to use stamped paper.

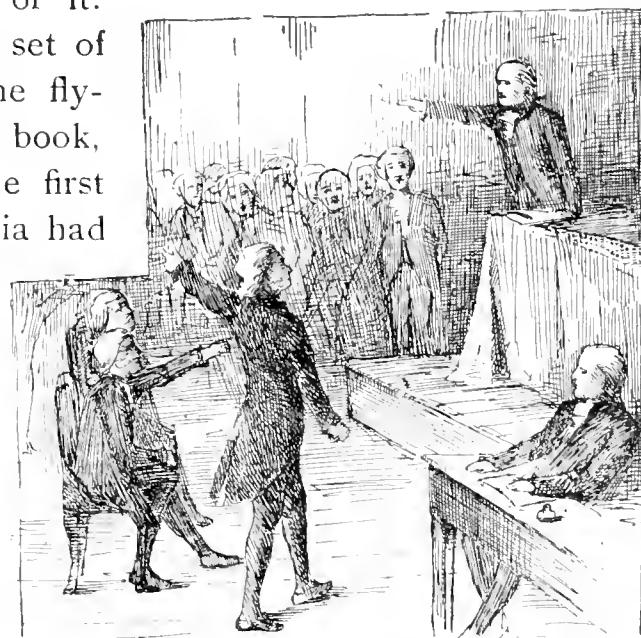
“I will cram the stamps down their throats with my sword!” cried a British officer.

But the stamped paper was not bought. Much of it was made into bonfires by angry mobs. When the time came for the Act to go into effect, all the stamp officers had resigned. They did not dare attempt to enforce the law.

Patrick Henry in
the House of
Burgesses

1765

The first Virginia
Resolves (May 29)



PATRICK HENRY

The Stamp Act
Congress at New
York (October 7)

The Declaration
of Rights

Non-importation
agreements

Franklin before the
House of Commons

1766

Parliament repeals
the Stamp Act
(March 18)

That same year a congress of delegates from the colonies met at New York to deliberate what to do in this crisis with the mother country. A Declaration of Rights and Grievances was drawn up and sent to Parliament. The Declaration of Rights maintained that Americans were subjects of the king; that it was the natural right of a British subject to vote his own tax, and that because Americans were not represented in Parliament, Parliament could not tax them.

It was agreed by the merchants to purchase no more wares in Great Britain until the Stamp Act was repealed. "Daughters of Liberty" spun yarn and wove it into cloth; homespun jeans took the place of satins and taffetas, and yarn hose were worn instead of silken ones. It seemed like the return of the good old Puritan days to see a spinning wheel in every home.

Now the large party in Parliament, led by William Pitt and Edmund Burke, who thought the Stamp Act unjust, advocated its repeal. Benjamin Franklin was called before a committee of the House of Commons and spoke in behalf of his countrymen. He said the colonists had borne more than their share of the expenses of the French war; that they would never submit to taxation without representation, and, if driven too far, would manufacture their own wares, and stop trading with England altogether.

After a long and bitter debate, Parliament repealed the Stamp Act.

EPOCH II. COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT.

1607-1775	Virginia Maryland The Carolinas Georgia Maine New Hampshire Vermont North Virginia Massachusetts Rhode Island Connecticut	The Council of the London Company The second charter of Jamestown Martial law Indented servants Negro slaves The First Colonial Assembly A royal province Indian war Bacon's rebellion Proprietary government Settled by Catholics Assembly passes Toleration Act A royal province Again a proprietary government One proprietary government Royal provinces } North Carolina } South Carolina "In trust for the poor" Settlement A royal province Patented by Gorges and Mason Bought by Massachusetts Patented by Gorges and Mason Under protection of Massachusetts A royal province Claimed by both New Hampshire and New York Plymouth Salem Royal Charter Boston Immigration ceases Union of four colonies King Philip's war Charter annulled A royal province Salem witchcraft Providence Plantation Rhode Island Plantation Charter unites the colonies Connecticut Colony New Haven Colony Pequot war Royal charter unites colonies	(1) New England united in one royal province: (2) Connecticut and Rhode Island recover their charters; the charter of Massachusetts reissued, providing for a royal governor.
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(Concluded on next page)

COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT. 1607-1775.	(CONCLUDED)	The Middle Country	New York	Settlement by the Dutch The Dutch West India Company Patroons An English royal province	New Netherland
			New Jersey	Settlement by the Dutch An English province	New Netherland East Jersey sold to Penn and other Quakers West Jersey sold to Quakers New Jersey becomes a royal province
			Pennsylvania	Settled by Swedes and Dutch English proprietary government Immigration of Quakers Philadelphia Penn's treaty with the Indians	
			Delaware	New Sweden A Dutch province An English province Bought by William Penn and finally allowed separate assembly under governor of Pennsylvania	
		Colonial Wars	King William's War 1689-1697	French and Canadian Indians against English and Iroquois Treaty of Ryswick	
			Queen Anne's War 1701-1713	French, Canadian Indians, and Spaniards against English Treaty of Utrecht; Acadia ceded to English	
			King George's War 1744-1748	French and Canadian Indians against English Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle	
			French and Indian War 1754-1763	French and Canadian Indians against English and Iroquois Treaty of Paris; Spain cedes Florida to England; France surrenders her territory east of Mississippi River to England, and New Orleans and all possessions west of the Mississippi to Spain	



CHAPTER XIX

CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION

ALTHOUGH the Stamp Act was repealed, King George and Charles Townshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer, declared it was necessary to prove that the government had the right to tax the colonies. So Parliament laid a tax on tea and a few other articles, established a Board of Trade at Boston, which should act independently of colonial regulations, and legalized writs of assistance. To enforce the laws, more grenadiers were sent to America, and a "Mutiny Act" demanded that the colonies should provide the royal troops with quarters and certain specified supplies. Merchants then signed non-importation agreements, and "Sons of Liberty" and other patriotic associations agreed to neither eat, drink, nor wear anything imported from England until the odious taxes were removed.

"Send over an army and fleet to reduce the dogs to reason," wrote one royal governor to the king, and the governors in several colonies dissolved the legislatures.

1767

The Townshend Acts

Non-importation
agreements

Colonial assemblies
dissolved

1768
British troops in
Boston

General Gage sent down to Boston two regiments from Halifax. They landed on Sabbath day, and entered the town with bayonets set and drums beating, as if they were invading a foreign country. The people quoted the statutes that troops could only be quartered in Boston when the barracks in the harbor were full, and refused to give them lodging. "It is no use to argue in this country, where every man studies law," wrote Gage. He came to Boston, and placed the city under strict guard, with cannon pointing down the streets.

1770
Lord North becomes
prime minister
(January)

The Boston massacre
(March 5)

The Townshend
taxes repealed ex-
cept the tax on tea
(April 12th)

When Lord North, who had been one of the most enthusiastic advocates of colonial taxation, became prime minister in England, the cause of freedom seemed hopeless. One night in Boston, a crowd surrounded the guards, who were disputing with some citizens. The soldiers fired into the people, killing five and wounding several others.¹ This massacre at Boston created intense excitement. Samuel Adams, in the name of the town, demanded the withdrawal of the troops, and they were transported to an island in the harbor.

All the Townshend taxes were finally repealed except the tax on tea. Now, it was the *principle* of taxation without representation that the people were fighting for. Tea was denounced as a "pernicious weed," and dried leaves of raspberry, sage, and sassafras were brewed in its stead. Merchants were required to sign pledges not to sell tea, and when one merchant in Boston was found selling contrary to agreement, a post was set up with the names of the tea importers written on it, pointing toward his shop. Some one attempted to break the post down, and while a crowd was gathering to chase him away, he fired a shotgun and killed a German boy eleven years old. Five hundred schoolmates walked in procession to the grave. Exciting events were preparing the

¹ Read Kidder's "The Boston Massacre."

minds of these children for the terrible struggle in which they would themselves take a part later on. Trees on the greens were called Liberty Trees, and there were nightly meetings around them. In Narragansett Bay, the revenue ship *Gaspee* was burned, and the Chief Justice of Rhode Island refused to send the offenders to England for trial. And so the fight went on in the North. The colonies of the South did not feel the taxes so heavily as those of the North. They had rice, tobacco, and indigo to exchange for wares from Great Britain. But they were too patriotic to submit to oppression. "I know not what course others may take," exclaimed Patrick Henry, "but as for me, give me liberty or give me death." When the governor dissolved the assembly of Virginia for its boldness of speech, the members held a meeting immediately after, and George Washington presented a resolution to import from Great Britain no more merchandise that was taxed.

All the colonies were moved by the same impulse; yet some people in each colony sided with the British government. These were largely merchants from the West Indies, who had warehouses in America, and officials who held office, and those whom the splendor of a crown so dazzled that they could not see the chains they wore. Those who were willing to obey the measures of the government were called Tories; those who opposed the unconstitutional acts of Parliament were

Tories and Whigs

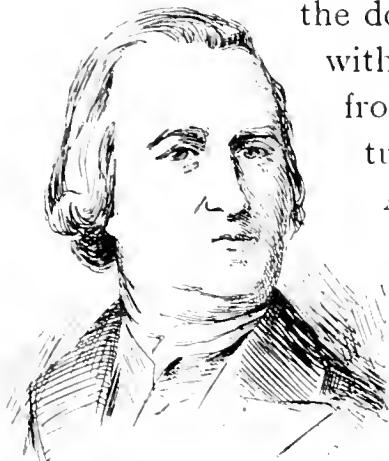
The ships, with their cargoes of tea, sailed into the American ports, and were anchored. At Boston, the governor could not be induced to send the ships back to England. The Whigs met in Faneuil Hall to protest

1772

The revenue ship
Gaspee is burned
(June 9)

against the landing, until the gatherings were so large that it became necessary to adjourn to the Old South meetinghouse. On the sixteenth of December, 1773, Samuel Adams presided. The church was packed to

1773

The Boston tea party
(December 16)

SAMUEL ADAMS

1722-1803

the doors, and the pavement outside was crowded with patriots, who were waiting for the last word from the governor. When the committee returned with his refusal to send the tea back, Adams said, in a loud voice: "The meeting declares it can do nothing more to save the country!" "Who knows," cried some one, "how tea will mingle with salt water?" War whoops sounded. A voice called out: "Boston Harbor a teapot tonight!" "Hurrah! Hurrah!" shouted fifty men who, painted like Mohawks and armed with hatchets, hurried down to the wharf. They boarded the vessels, and tossed three hundred and fifty broken chests of tea into the harbor. Crowds witnessed the action in silence, and dispersed to their homes. In the morning, the tea thrown up by the tides lay in long stretches along the shore.¹

The crisis had come. Paul Revere and others rode in haste to Philadelphia and New York to tell the people what Boston had done. The tea ships at Philadelphia were sent back to England, the cargoes at Charleston were landed, but rotted away in damp cellars, and at none of the ports was it allowed to be sold.

1774

The Boston Port Act

Parliament closed the port of Boston. No ships might enter or leave the Harbor. All the colonies sent aid overland, or by way of Marblehead, which offered her port free of charge to the merchants. Even from

¹ Read Drake's "Tea Leaves."

the far frontiers, where the pioneers toiled in the wilderness, contributions were sent to Boston.

Parliament also passed the Massachusetts bill, which violated charter rights by providing for a military governor of the colony and forbidding public meetings without his consent; the Transportation bill, which gave the governor power to transport any one accused of murder in resisting the laws to another colony or to England for trial; and the Quartering bill, which legalized the quartering of troops at private houses. Then Parliament passed the Quebec bill, which annexed to the Province of Quebec, the country between Pennsylvania, the Mississippi River, the Ohio River, and the Great Lakes. The territory was claimed by Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Virginia under their charters, and most of the colonies had shared in the expense and danger of winning it from the French.

The Massachusetts
bill, the Transpor-
taⁿtion bill, and the
Quartering bill

The Quebec bill

There was tremendous excitement over these unjust measures. If affairs went on at this rate, what would be the end? Franklin's old motto, "Join or die," was printed and circulated, and conventions were called to choose delegates to a continental congress at Philadelphia. In our forefathers' day, as in our own, there were some who did not believe in experiments. One member of the South Carolina legislature laughed at the idea of a convention of the colonies: "What kind of a dish will a congress from the different British colonies make?" said he. "New England will throw in fish and onions, the Middle States flaxseed and flour, Maryland and Virginia will add tobacco, North Carolina pitch, tar, and turpentine, South Carolina rice and indigo, and Georgia will sprinkle the whole composition with sawdust. That is the absurd jumble you will make if you attempt a union between the thirteen British provinces."

The Congressional
conventions

But another member retorted: "I would not choose the gentleman who made these objections for my cook; but I venture to say that if the colonies proceed to appoint deputies to a Continental Congress, they will prepare a dish fit to be presented to any crowned head in Europe."

The delegates from South Carolina were the first to arrive at Philadelphia. Those from all the other colonies except Georgia soon joined them, and met in convention in Carpenters' Hall.

Among the members of the first Continental Congress were some of the most distinguished men in America. From Massachusetts came Roger Sherman, "who never said a foolish thing in his life;" Samuel Adams, "whose head was wanted badly in London," and his cousin, John Adams, a future president; from South Carolina were the brilliant John Rutledge and his brother Edward, who had just listened to the debates in Parliament on the tea tax; from New Jersey was William Livingston, whose letters to Edmund Burke on colonial affairs had made the great orator the champion of the patriots; from New York was John Jay, whose "pen was the finest in America;" from Virginia were Washington, the hero of battlefields, Patrick Henry, the orator, and Richard Henry Lee, who, at the head of his volunteers, had made a bonfire of stamps.

It was, indeed, a coming together of different religious creeds and political views. Many thought that Massachusetts had been too radical in resisting the king. John Jay, of New York, opposed the motion to open the convention with prayer, because, he said, no one could expect Baptists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Episcopalians, Quakers, and Catholics to unite in worship. But Samuel Adams, from "stiff-necked" Massachusetts,

1774
The First Con-
tinental Congress
(September 5 to
October 26)

Creed forgotten
for Liberty

arose, and said he was no bigot, and could hear a prayer from a gentleman of piety who was at the same time a patriot. He had heard that Mr. Duché, an Episcopal clergyman, deserved that title, and therefore he moved that Mr. Duché read prayers. Samuel Adams acted wisely in this. If a rigid Puritan could yield his creed for the country's welfare, all were willing to do so. The prayer was read.

Then Patrick Henry, in the first great speech of the Congress, exclaimed, "British oppression has effaced the boundaries of the several colonies; the distinctions between Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers, and New Englanders are no more. . . . I am not a Virginian, but an American!"

Thus united, the delegates drew up addresses to the people of the colonies, the Canadians, the people of Great Britain, and the king. And then they issued a "Declaration of Rights," in which, as British subjects, they demanded a share in enacting their own laws and imposing their own taxes; the right of petition and trial by jury; and they protested against a standing army without their consent, the taxation of the people without their consent, the dissolving of assemblies, the quartering of troops in time of peace, and the trial of men without a jury. William Pitt, then Earl of Chatham, said in the House of Lords: "The histories of Greece and Rome give us nothing equal to this Declaration of Rights, and all attempts to impose servitude upon such a mighty continental nation must be in vain."

Patrick Henry's
first speech in
the Congress

The "Declaration
of Rights"

CHAPTER XX

THE REVOLUTION

1775-1781



Massachusetts
prepares for war

1775
Paul Revere arouses
the towns (April 18)

Battles of Lexington
and Concord
(April 19)

HE king returned no answer to the address to himself nor to the Declaration of Rights drawn up by the Continental Congress. He sent orders to the royal governors to prepare for war, and equipped a fleet with ten thousand British soldiers to help them. General Gage, the military governor of Massachusetts, seized the public stores at Boston, and fortified Boston Neck.

Meanwhile the Assembly of Massachusetts met in Cambridge in spite of the governor. They elected John Hancock president, and chose a Committee of

Safety with power to act for the common welfare; they resolved to enlist twelve thousand "minute men" to defend their rights, and to invite the other colonies to swell the number to twenty thousand. They collected ammunition at Concord, sixteen miles from Boston, and at Salem and other towns. When, at midnight, on the eighteenth of April, eight hundred grenadiers crept out of Boston to seize the stores at Concord, the lanterns from the steeple of the North Church warned the watchman of Charlestown, and sent Paul Revere and others speeding away to arouse the



sleeping towns.¹ Minute men gathered at Lexington to meet the British troops as the sun was just rising over the hills. "Disperse, rebels," cried the British, "down with your arms, and disperse!" Shots were fired. Seven Americans were killed and several wounded. The minute men fell back, bearing away their dead.

The Revolution had begun.

The British moved on to Concord and destroyed what stores they could find. Meanwhile, hundreds of minute



PAUL REVERE'S RIDE

men were gathering. As the British retreated toward Boston, the patriots fired at them Indian fashion from behind fences and trees. A re-enforcement of nine hundred regulars at Lexington covered their flight; but when, at last, they reached Boston, they had lost three hundred men, and just barely escaped capture.

Swift messengers carried the news of the battle at Lexington to all the colonies.² John Stark, the ranger, mounted his horse, and rode at the head of several hundred New Hampshire men to join the army at Cam-

John Stark and
Israel Putnam

¹ Read Longfellow's "Paul Revere's Ride." ² Read Coffin's "Boys of '76."

Colonial troops
encamp around
Boston



ISRAEL PUTNAM

1718-1790

Ticonderoga
captured (May 10)

The Second Con-
tinental Congress
meets (May 10)

A federal union
formed with
Congress the
executive power

"Bills of Credit"

bridge; Israel Putnam, of Connecticut, left his plow, and, rousing his neighbors, hastened away; at Enfield, word came of the battle on Sunday, and Captain Abbé, scarred in the wars with the French, received the message at church. He stole quietly out and played on his drum. The people hurried to join him, and left the parson alone. The drummer marched round and round the meetinghouse until a hundred and forty men had fallen into line to start for Cambridge the following day. Recruits rallied with such enthusiasm that when the British generals, Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, sailed up the bay, they found Boston surrounded by twenty thousand men.

Meanwhile it seemed of the utmost importance to prevent the French in Canada from joining the British. Ethan Allen, with the "Green Mountain Boys" of Vermont, captured Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain "in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." Crown Point surrendered soon after. The "Keys of Canada" were thus secured, and vast military stores were hauled to Cambridge.

The Second Continental Congress at Philadelphia, with John Hancock, president, addressed another petition to the king, and, while awaiting his reply, formed a Federal Union which might have the power to make treaties of peace or alliance, declare war, and regulate trade. Congress issued "bills of credit" or paper money, to the amount of two millions of dollars, which the "United Colonies" promised to redeem. It adopted

the troops before Boston as the Continental army, and elected George Washington commander in chief by unanimous vote.

George Washington,
commander in chief
of the Continental
armies

It was a bold act to take control of an army to fight the king's troops. "I fear that this day will mark the downfall of my reputation," said Washington to Patrick Henry. Yet the noble man accepted the dangerous honor, and resolved to lay his life on the altar of his country.

General Gage issued a proclamation offering pardon to those who would return to their allegiance, except the "ringleaders," John Hancock and Samuel Adams. The patriots in homespun scouted the offer. On the evening of June 16, about a thousand men marched to fortify Bunker Hill in Charlestown, which overlooked a part of Boston. Finding Breed's Hill a better location, they worked all night to throw up earthworks at that point. At dawn the British were amazed to see a line of defense across the hill above them. They fired from the frigates in the harbor; but the toilers kept on at their task. At noon, three thousand British soldiers under General Howe, crossed the harbor; they landed near Charlestown, and, while the rest of the British army watched them from the roofs of the houses in Boston, they moved up the hill. "Don't fire till you see the white of their eyes!" were the orders of the American officer. When the Continentals fired, it was with deadly effect. The British retreated. They set fire to Charlestown, and again climbed the fortified hill. Again they were driven back, and once again they advanced. This third attack ended in a retreat of the patriots, because their powder gave out; but the defense

The battle of
Bunker Hill
(June 17)

was so brilliant that the battle of Bunker Hill is one of the most famous battles of the war.

It was evident that Sir Guy Carleton, governor of Canada, was planning the conquest of New York, and Congress sent two expeditions across the border to attack him. General Montgomery captured Montreal, and hurried on to Quebec, where he met Colonel Benedict Arnold. With less than a thousand men they laid siege to the city. After three weeks of waiting they made an assault; Montgomery was killed, and Arnold was wounded. The remnant of the army retreated, and Canada was left in control of the British.

Meantime General Washington reviewed his troops under the shade of an elm tree which still stands at Cambridge. The men were poorly clad, and had weapons of all patterns and sizes; few of them knew what military discipline was. The British armies were furnished with brass artillery, and equipped with the best that art had invented. They were fresh from victories on the battlefields of Europe. They had sympathizers in the colonies to help them, and Canadians and Indians on the frontiers to rally at their call. Surely the odds were against the "rabble" that camped around Boston.

Now the colonies still acknowledged George III as their king. They still awaited his answer to their petitions. They were fighting only Parliament for usurping their rights; and so the Union flag at Cambridge with its thirteen bars of alternate red and white, to represent the colonies, had the British cross in the corner. But the hearts of even the bravest were heavy as they gazed on its fluttering folds. How would this struggle for liberty end?

Washington threw up earthworks around Boston, determined to dislodge the British. It was not an easy

The capture of
Montreal
(November 12)

The attack
on Quebec
(December 31)

General Washington
reviews his troops
at Cambridge
(July 3)

The colonies still
loyal to King George

The siege of Boston

task to hold so many thousand men from so many different colonies in subjection. He forbade gambling, saying: "In this time of distress men may find enough to do in the service of God and their country without abandoning themselves to vice." He declared if any man in action skulked, hid, or retreated from the enemy without orders, he should instantly be shot down as an example of cowardice. After a siege of ten months, Boston was again in the hands of her friends. The British sailed away for Halifax, and Washington hurried north to defend New York from attack.

Meanwhile, the only reply the king made to the second petition of Congress was to call the Americans "rebels," and send over more troops. Because the British people were so unwilling to fight their own kinsmen, he employed an army of seventeen thousand Hessians to help the regulars. Congress now resolved to fight the king as well as Parliament.

The colonies called themselves States, selected their own governors, and instructed their delegates in Congress to vote for independence. By declaring independence of Great Britain they hoped to rid themselves of the name "rebel," and thus be able to form treaties of alliance with other nations. Richard Henry Lee offered in Congress the resolution that "these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States, and all political connections between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved." John Adams seconded the resolution. Then Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, John Adams, of Massachusetts, Benjamin Franklin, of Pennsylvania, Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, and Robert R. Livingston, of New York, were appointed a committee to prepare the Decla-

1776
The British evacuate
Boston (March 17)

The king hires
Hessians to fight
his colonies

The colonies call
themselves States,
and select their
own governors



THOMAS JEFFERSON
1743-1826

ration of Independence. The famous instrument was written by Thomas Jefferson, chairman of the committee, almost exactly as we have it to-day.¹

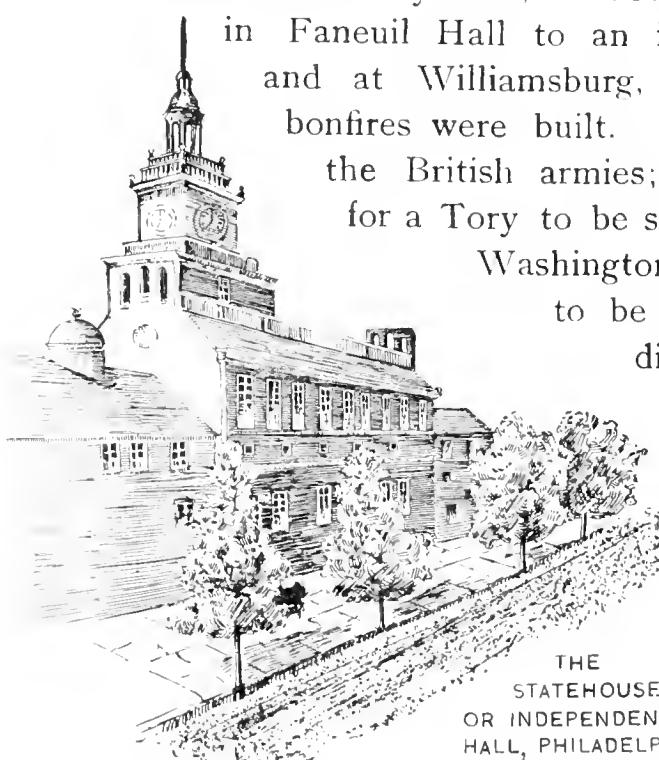
1776
The Declaration of
Independence
(July 4)

On the fourth of July, 1776, John Hancock, president of the Congress, wrote his name in large script, which "the king of England could read without spectacles," and the other members signed the paper later. There was now no retreat. "We must all hang together," said one. "Yes," said Franklin, "we must hang together, or we shall hang separately!" When the news of the Declaration, which made the Americans free, was carried over the country, the Whigs celebrated the event; in Philadelphia the "Liberty Bell" in the old Statehouse was rung till it almost cracked; in New York the lead statue of King George was pulled down and melted into bullets, and the royal arms were torn down from the City Hall; at Boston the Declaration was read in Faneuil Hall to an immense throng of patriots, and at Williamsburg, Charleston, and Savannah bonfires were built. Tories fled for protection to the British armies; indeed, it was hardly safe for a Tory to be seen on the street of any city.

Washington ordered the Declaration to be read at the head of each division of the army in New York. He was encamped in New York City and on Brooklyn Heights with about ten thousand men,



JOHN HANCOCK
1737-1793



¹ Read the "Declaration of Independence," page 137.

while Gen. William Howe lay facing him on Staten Island. On the twelfth of July Admiral Lord Howe arrived with a fleet. The admiral sent a dispatch to "George Washington, *Esquire*," in the hope of some friendly compromise. The commander of the American armies refused to receive a message thus addressed. Howe then wrote to "George Washington, *etc., etc., etc.*" "The *and-so-forth* may mean as big a title as this upstart American likes," said the admiral. But Washington again refused to degrade his office.

Meantime William Moultrie completed a fort on Sullivan's Island, near Charleston, S. C.¹ A British fleet soon attacked Fort Sullivan. During the engagement the flag of blue, with a white crescent bearing the legend "Liberty," was cut down by a ball of the enemy. It was thought the fort had struck its colors; but up sprang Sergeant William Jasper, crying, "I'll fix the flag to a halberd, and place it on the merlon of the bastion next the enemy!" And he planted it there in the midst of the thickest fire. The sun went down with the flag still flying. During the night the British fleet withdrew for Staten Island.

In August the British and Hessian troops crossed over from Staten Island to Long Island, and attacked the Americans outside the intrenchments on Brooklyn Heights. A hard fought battle resulted in the loss of nearly a thousand patriots. Howe then waited for the fleet in the bay, under command of his brother, Admiral Lord Howe, to storm the fort at Brooklyn.²

On the second night after the battle, however, Washington withdrew his army to New York, under cover of a dense fog; General Howe pursued; Washington re-

The battle of Fort
Sullivan (Moultrie)
(June 28)

Sergeant William
Jasper

The battle of Long
Island (August 27)

¹ See map page 275.

² See map page 141.

The British occupy
New York, Fort
Washington, and
Fort Lee

Nathan Hale
hanged as a spy
September 22^d



NATHAN HALE

Congress abandons
Philadelphia

1776-1777
The Articles of
Confederation
are framed

treated to White Plains, and then to North Castle, where he faced about and waited to give battle. Howe did not venture an attack at that place. He turned to march into New Jersey, and on his way captured Fort Washington on Manhattan Island, and Fort Lee on the Jersey shore. Meantime Washington sent Captain Nathan Hale to examine the British camp on Long Island. He was arrested and hanged as a spy. No clergyman was allowed to visit him, and his letters to his mother and sister were destroyed. His last words were: "I only regret that I have but one life to give to my country."

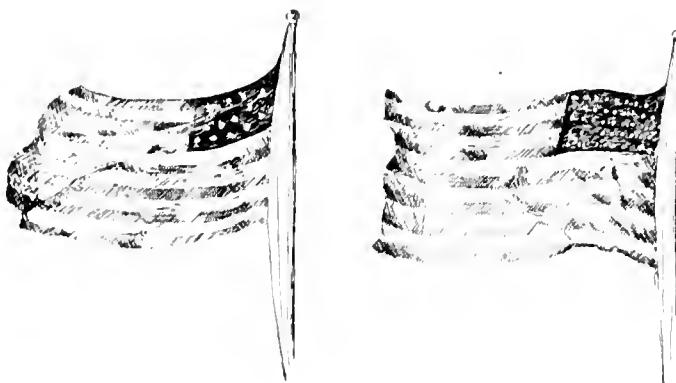
Washington left General Charles Lee at North Castle to guard the Hudson, and crossed that river to prevent Howe from marching upon Philadelphia. Lord Cornwallis pursued him. Washington sent to General Charles Lee for help; but Lee responded slowly, and a few days later was taken prisoner. The dauntless Washington retreated with four thousand half-starved troops through New Jersey, and crossed the Delaware, tearing up the bridges and taking the boats. The British then camped in the towns east of the Delaware, waiting for the river to freeze that they might advance on Philadelphia.

Congress gave to Washington almost supreme command in military affairs, and, because Philadelphia was unsafe, abandoned the Quaker City for Baltimore. There was much for Congress to do. Harbors were unprotected, and military stores nearly exhausted. Congress drew up articles of confederation to submit to the States. It appointed committees to recruit the army, to create a navy, to correspond with friendly nations abroad, and to increase the revenues. Thus, from its very necessities, the Continental Congress began to lay the first foundations of a future national government.

The confidence in Washington, the commander of the little American army, soon increased. The noble leader did not lose courage over his defeats. On Christmas night he recrossed the Delaware, and at dawn, while the Hessians at Trenton were sleeping in a drunken stupor from their revels, he captured a thousand of them, with a large store of arms and ammunition. He soon made Trenton his headquarters. When surrounded by the British under Cornwallis, he broke camp during the night, and, leaving fires burning to deceive the enemy, secretly marched around them to Princeton in their rear. Here he defeated three British regiments, and marched to Morristown, among the mountains of northern New Jersey; he knew the British would not dare to attack him there, and went into winter quarters. The maneuvering in the retreat from New York to Morristown under so many difficulties proved the wonderful genius of Washington, and aroused deep sympathy in Europe for the American revolutionists.

Washington captures
the Hessians at
Trenton
December 26

1777
Washington goes
into winter quarters
at Morristown
(January)



1777
THE ORIGINAL FLAG

1899
THE FLAG OF TO-DAY

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.

The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America,

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, — A decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. — We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness — That to secure these rights Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just power from the consent of the governed. — But whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. — Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. — But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. — Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. — The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. — To prove this let Facts be submitted to a candid world. — He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good. — He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained, and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them. — He has refused to pay other Costs for the accommodation of large bodies of people, who would otherwise enjoy the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inseparable from them and formed by their compact only. — He has called together legislative Bodies at places unusual, unaccustomed, and distant from the Depository of their Public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures. — He has depopulated Representative Houses effectually, by opposing with many偏見 his concurrence on the rights of the people. — He has refused for along time after such Depopulation, to cause others to be elected, whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convolution within. — He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to give leave to emigrate their conditions of new Appropriations of Lands. — He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers. — He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the amount and payment of their salaries. — He has created a multitude of Vice-Admirals and other Officers, and sent them into these places, and cost us their freedom. — He has left many in times of peace Banking Arms without the consent of our Legislatures. — He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power. — He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to these Acts of pretended Legislation: — For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us. — For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States. — For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world. — For enjoining Fines on us without our Consent. — For depriving us in many cases of the Benefits of Trial by Jury. — For transporting us to distant Countries. — For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing thereon an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it absolute; and for rendering these absolute into their Colonies: — For hiding away our militia, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and destroying fundamental liberty the birthright of our governments. — For suspending our own Legislatures, and deposing those ministers invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever. — He has obstructed Government here, by detaining us out of the Protection and waging War against us. — He has plundered our seas, ravaged our ports, burnt our towns, and destroyed the Lives of our people. — He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation. — He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captives on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of those friends and Brethren, into whom themselves by their Hands. — He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring into the inhabitants of our frontier, the merciless Indians, savages, whose known act of violence, was undistinguished distinction of all ages, race and conditions. — It is every stage of these Oppressions we have Petitioned a Redress in the most humble terms. Our repeated Petitions have been answered by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may dignify Tyranny, and render it the ruler of a few people. — We have been warning our attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their Legislators to abridge our unextinguishable jurisdiction over us. We have counselled them of the consequences of our union and junction here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disown these usurpations, which would inevitably intercept our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of common humanity. — We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our separation, and hold them as held the rest of mankind. — Excrucians in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, Free and Independent States; that they are absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain, is, and ought to be totally dissolved, and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. — And for the Support of the Declaration, with a firm reliance on the Protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honour?

Denton Garrison,
Lyman Hall,
Geo. Walton

John Hancock	Robt Morris	Genl. Lee	Josiah Bartlett
Joseph Bellamy,	Drayton Nash	Col. Gage	Wm Whipple
John Dr	Col. Franklin	Genl. Tracy	Sam Adams
Samuel Chase	John Morton	Genl. Morris	John Adams
Wm Paca	George Washington	Genl. Putnam	Abd'l. Read
Tho: Stone	John Jay	Genl. Greene	Mass: Gerry
Thos: Mifflin	Genl: Greene	Genl: Wayne	Step: Hopkins
Cork: Carlisle	Genl: Washington	Genl: Scott	William Ellery
Edward Rutledge	Genl: Washington	Genl: Lincoln	Roger Sherman
	Genl: Washington	Genl: Morris	Genl: Washington
	Genl: Washington	Genl: Scott	Genl: Morris
	Genl: Washington	Genl: Lincoln	Oliver Wolcott
	Genl: Washington	Genl: Morris	Genl: Washington

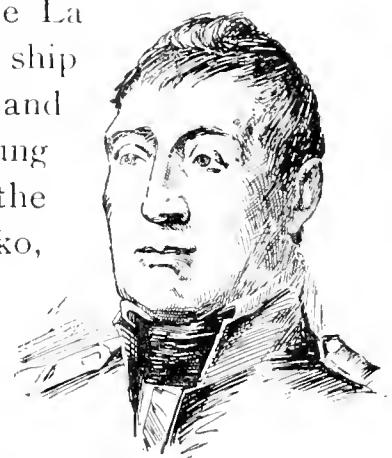
CHAPTER XXI

THE REVOLUTION (CONTINUED)

AFTER the Declaration of Independence Congress adopted the Union flag with thirteen white stars in a field of blue, in place of the cross of St. George. To fight under its folds, the French Marquis de Lafayette, not yet out of his teens, fitted up a ship at his own expense, and, with Baron de Kalb and other officers, sailed to America. Many young men of Europe were fired with zeal to aid the new republic. Count Pulaski and Kosciusko, the Polish patriots, crossed the sea, and, the following year, the German Baron Steuben came to instruct the Americans in military tactics. But notwithstanding the efforts of Benjamin Franklin and other emissaries at their courts, the powers of Europe refused to openly aid the cause of England's colonies.

The war raged on; General Howe was determined to enter Philadelphia, and because Washington stood guard in northern New Jersey, he took boats, sailed from Staten Island into Chesapeake Bay, and landed at Elkton, in Maryland. At Chadd's Ford, on the Brandywine, Washington met Howe, and was defeated after a terrible battle.

Philadelphia was seized by Howe. Washington attacked the British at Germantown near Philadelphia, but was again defeated. He then went into winter quarters at Valley Forge, twenty miles from Philadelphia, to watch the British, who had headquarters there. The winter weather was very severe. The Continental



LAFAYETTE
1757-1834

1777
The flag of our
Union (June 14)

Brandywine
(September 11)

Howe occupies
Philadelphia
(September 20)

Germantown
(October 4)

1777-1778
Valley Forge

troops were often without food, and from lack of warm clothing, many were obliged to sit all night by the camp-fires to keep from freezing to death.

1777
The British plan to
conquer New York

Burgoyne at
Ticonderoga (July 5)



KOSCIUSKO
1746-1817

John Stark at
Bennington
(August 16)

Benedict Arnold at
Fort Stanwix
(August 22)

Meanwhile in the North, the British had been making a tremendous effort to get control of New York State, and thus cut the United Colonies in two. Albany, on the Hudson, was agreed upon as the meeting place of three British armies. General John Burgoyne was to reach there by way of Lake Champlain, Colonel St. Leger by the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario, while General Howe was to come up the Hudson from New York.

In July Burgoyne drove General Philip Schuyler from Ticonderoga, and soon had control of Lake Champlain and Lake George. Then, following Schuyler, he marched to Fort Edward on the east side of the Hudson. General Schuyler, with about four thousand men, intrenched his camp on the west side, near the mouth of the Mohawk.

While the armies lay watching each other, Burgoyne sent eight hundred men to Bennington, Vt., where some Continental supplies were stored. They were met by Colonel John Stark and four hundred militia. "There they are, boys," cried Stark, "we must beat them to-day, or this night Mollie Stark's a widow!" The British were routed completely.

Meanwhile St. Leger attacked Fort Stanwix (now the city of Rome); but the garrison held out until Colonel Benedict Arnold arrived, and drove him to Oswego.

These failures to carry out the campaign as planned, distressed Burgoyne greatly. Tory allies were cut off; Indian allies began to desert; provisions were scant; and all the time the American army was growing stronger. There was no way of escaping defeat if Howe failed to

come up the Hudson. Howe had intended to capture Philadelphia in a short time, and then make the expedition to Albany, but, as we have seen, Washington kept him busy around Philadelphia.

After Schuyler's defeat at Ticonderoga, Congress gave Horatio Gates command of his army. Gates moved up

Horatio Gates is given command of Schuyler's army

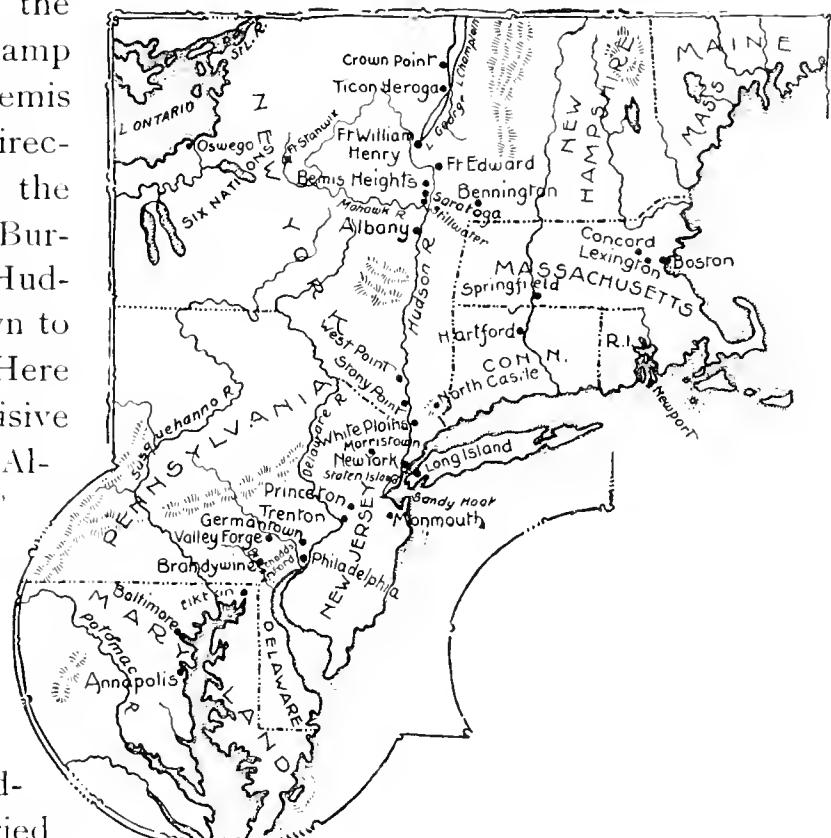
the west bank of the Hudson, and a camp was fortified at Bemis Heights under the direction of Kosciusko, the Polish engineer. Burgoyne crossed the Hudson and moved down to Bemis Heights. Here a severe but indecisive battle was fought. "Albany at all hazards," said the British general, who still hoped to meet Howe there. In another battle, at Stillwater, he was badly defeated. He tried to retreat to Canada; but

the army of General Gates hemmed him in on all sides; and, on the 17th of October, 1777, at Saratoga, he surrendered his army of six thousand men, with an immense quantity of ammunition and stores. Among the prisoners were six members of the British Parliament.¹

The Tories of England heard the news of Burgoyne's

Burgoyne's surrender (October 17)

¹ Burgoyne sailed to England on his parole; his troops were quartered near Boston.



1778

France makes a
treaty of alliance,
and promises a fleet
(February)

defeat with amazement and chagrin; but the Whigs were proud of their American cousins. France was delighted, and Louis XVI, fearing that the colonies might make terms with England, listened, at last, to the pleading of Benjamin Franklin, and promised a fleet.

Meantime, George III had anticipated his rival's proffer of aid in the war, and offered the colonies all they demanded in the Declaration of Rights if they would lay down arms. The offer came too late. The suffering had been too severe to retreat. Bribes were offered some American officers. "I am not worth purchasing," said one, "but such as I am, the king of England is not rich enough to buy me."

Saratoga, one of the
fifteen decisive
battles of the world

The battle of Saratoga is called one of the fifteen decisive battles of the world. It induced France, Spain, and Holland to recognize the independent United States of America; it preserved the union of the colonies, secured aid from abroad, and renewed the courage of the patriots. General Gates took to himself, unjustly, all the honor of the victory, and, while Washington suffered with his troops at Valley Forge, some jealous officers formed a plot to put Gates in supreme command. This plot, called the "Conway Cabal," failed to injure the great commander, who continued steadfast in his duty while watching the enemy at Philadelphia. He drilled his army with the aid of Baron von Steuben, and when he heard that King Louis had pledged to send over land forces in addition to the fleet, he planned a new campaign.

The "Conway
Cabal"

The British evacuate
Philadelphia
(June 17)

The British general, Clinton, who had succeeded Howe, fearing a blockade of New York by the approaching French fleet, evacuated Philadelphia in June, and hastened north; Washington pursued, and the van of his army engaged the rear of the British at Mon-

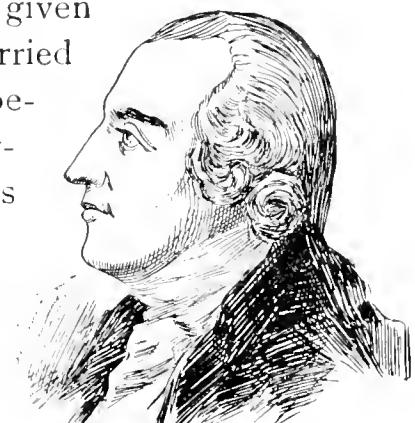
mouth, N. J. General Charles Lee, now known to have been a traitor, was in command of the American division. In the midst of the conflict Lee ordered a retreat. Washington rode up to the field in time to prevent disaster. The battle raged furiously till evening, and during the night the British set sail at Sandy Hook for New York. Washington marched to Morristown, and extended his lines from that place to West Point on the Hudson River. The following year the fort at Stony Point on the Hudson, was captured by General Clinton; but, a few weeks later, the hill was stormed by "mad" Anthony Wayne, and over five hundred British were made prisoners.

The battle of
Monmouth (June 28)

Many Tories joined their fortunes with the British; this had been expected; but when Benedict Arnold turned traitor, there was horror and indignation in the breast of every patriot. One of the boldest officers at the beginning of the war, Arnold had been given the highest honors by Washington. He married a beautiful Tory lady, and his sympathies began to change. He was extravagant and overbearing. When publicly reprimanded for his conduct, he fostered revenge. He planned to betray the fortress of West Point, and thus give the enemy control of the Hudson. The treason was discovered. Major André, his British agent, was hanged as a spy. Arnold himself escaped to the British lines. He received thirty thousand dollars for his crime, and as a British colonel, turned his arms against his own countrymen; even the British despised Arnold, the traitor.

1779

"Mad Anthony"
Wayne at Stony
Point (July 15)



BENEDICT ARNOLD
1741-1801

1780

Benedict Arnold
becomes a traitor

The cruel war went on; sometimes one side and sometimes the other was victorious; yet the British were gradually getting the worst of the conflict. At the

close of three years they had almost abandoned the North, and held only New York City and Newport, with Staten Island and a part of Long Island. Washington's lines, on the west, lay facing these points.

1778
Massacres in
Wyoming Valley
and Cherry Valley

Meanwhile, led on by Joseph Brant, a Mohawk chief, Canadians, Tories, and Iroquois waged bitter war in Wyoming Valley, Pa., and in Cherry Valley, N. Y. Men, women, and children were tomahawked, and houses plundered and burned. West of the Alleghany Mountains the British garrisons were urging the Indians to fight; at Detroit, a price was put on American scalps, and war parties ravaged the settlements in Kentucky and Tennessee.

George Rogers
Clark wrests the
Northwest from
the British

Now, while paddling down the Ohio, George Rogers Clark, a young surveyor of Virginia, planned the conquest of the valley north of the river, which had been annexed to Quebec. He took his way through the forests to appeal to Virginia for troops. When he reached Williamsburg, he heard of Burgoyne's surrender, and was more eager than ever to conquer the West. Governor Patrick Henry furnished troops, to be raised on the Western frontiers so as not to weaken the coast in its struggles with the British; and Thomas Jefferson wrote to Clark his appreciation of the services he was about to undertake for the colonies.

Governor Patrick
Henry furnishes
troops for the
Clark expedition

Colonel Clark, with high hopes, proceeded down the Ohio from Pittsburg. He took Kaskaskia,¹ Vincennes, and the other British posts, except Detroit. He won over the Creoles and armed them. He summoned the Indian Confederacies to a great council, and with such infinite courage and skill explained the causes of the bitter war between England and the colonies, that

1778-1779

¹See map, facing page 189.

when he offered them the white belt of peace, or the red belt of war with the "Americans of Thirteen Fires," the warriors quickly chose the white belt; and they kept their pledges for a time. Clark established permanent garrisons, which held the beautiful valley under the stars and stripes until it was ceded by Great Britain in the final treaty of peace.

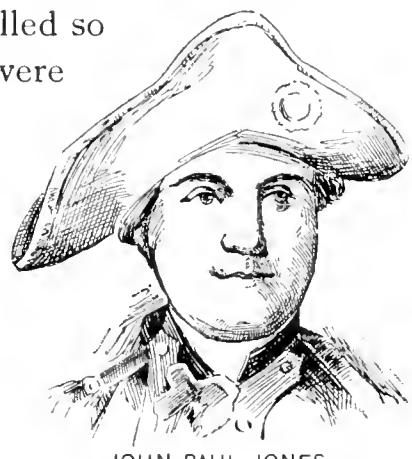
That same year General Sullivan marched with an army against the Iroquois, or Six Nations, in central New York; he burned their villages, and killed so many of the warriors that the Iroquois were henceforth harmless.

Meanwhile, the Americans were making themselves famous on the sea. Congress ordered thirteen cruisers built, bought and fitted out several merchant vessels, and authorized States and private citizens to man ships to attack the British navy. Benjamin Franklin and Silas Deane, then envoys to France, sent out cruisers which took many prizes.

John Paul Jones became a naval hero, and, sailing into the Irish Channel, set fire to shipping, and destroyed many vessels. He was given command of a squadron of five ships, and, sailing from France, he sped beyond the coasts of Ireland and Scotland. In the *Bonhomme Richard* he captured the British frigate *Scrapis*, and by his masterly warfare kept a part of the British navy home to defend the coast of Great Britain. It is thought that several hundred British vessels, worth millions of dollars, were captured by the American fleets.

Great Britain was soon at war with most of the powers in Europe. The practice of boarding the ships of neutral nations caused great indignation among them. Russia, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, France, and Spain set

Sullivan's
expedition



JOHN PAUL JONES
1747-1792

1779

Paul Jones, in the
Bonhomme Richard,
captures the *Scrapis*
(September 23)

England at war
with European
nations

the sails of their fleets in pursuit of British cruisers. Spain captured the forts in West Florida and the post at St. Joseph on Lake Michigan. Ireland threatened separation from the mother country. So that while with one hand Great Britain was fighting the colonies, with the other she was guarding her interests at home. The English people clamored for peace with America; but the cruel war went on by land and by sea.

1778

Savannah is
captured
(December 29)

1780

Charleston (May 12)

Camden (August 16)

American victory at
King's Mountain
(October 7)

Sumter and Marion

Disappointed at the results in the Northern and Midland colonies, the British shifted the war to the South where they counted much on the help of the Tories and negroes. Georgia soon lay at the feet of Cornwallis. Clinton, leaving only enough troops in New York to oppose Washington, sailed with the bulk of his army to Charleston. Charleston surrendered, and South Carolina was raided by the British cavalry officer Tarleton until the State was thought to be conquered. Clinton then sailed back to New York, leaving Cornwallis in control of the southern division of the British army.

General Gates in command of the American troops in the South, was routed by Cornwallis in the battle of Camden, S. C. Scores of Tories then joined the army of Cornwallis; yet to one Tory there were scores of Whigs. When the British Colonel Ferguson started on a raid through South Carolina, the news reached beyond the Blue Ridge. The backwoodsmen of Kentucky and Tennessee, in coonskin caps and buckskins, routed the redcoats and Tories at King's Mountain. Then from swamps and pine forests the patriots of the Carolinas rallied again under Thomas Sumter and Francis Marion. They fixed scythes and knives in poles for bayonets, melted pewter dishes into bullets, manufactured powder from charcoal and niter, and kept smiting the British and Tories to right and to left.

After the defeat of Gates at Camden, Congress sent General Nathaniel Greene, of Rhode Island, to command the American troops in the South.



NATHANIEL GREENE
1742-1786

Greene sent a detachment under Daniel Morgan into South Carolina for recruits. Tarleton was attacked by Morgan at Cowpens, and badly defeated. Then Cornwallis pursued the united armies of Morgan and Greene. Greene retreated toward Virginia, but while he was marching through North Carolina, Cornwallis met and defeated him at Guilford Courthouse; but the loss of the British was so great

1781
Cowpens
(January 17)

Guilford Courthouse
(March 15)

that Cornwallis retreated. In spite of defeats, Greene, by his caution and skill, soon held the Carolinas and Georgia except Charleston, Wilmington, and Savannah.

Meanwhile the traitor Arnold marched into Virginia. Lafayette, with an army of New England troops, was sent to meet him. After the battle of Guilford Courthouse, Cornwallis took command of Arnold's forces. Washington still camped on the Hudson, watching the movements of Clinton.

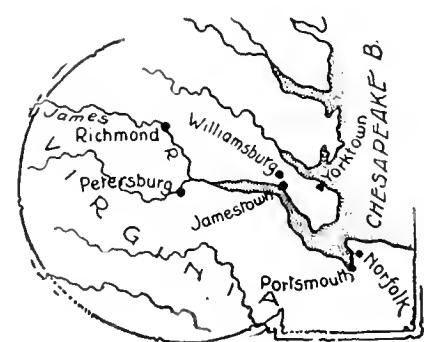
Then the finishing strokes of the long eight-years' war were made. Cornwallis withdrew to the coast of Virginia, and built intrenchments at Yorktown, on a peninsula between the James and York Rivers. Lafayette followed him, and fortified an American camp eight miles away.



The Marquis de
Lafayette in
Virginia

Washington and
Rochambeau in
Virginia

A French fleet under De Grasse sailed up Chesapeake Bay, and cast anchor at the mouth of York River. Washington, with Rochambeau and his French troops, secretly left the Hudson. He crossed the Delaware at Trenton. When he reached Philadelphia, the united armies were reviewed by Congress; and as six thousand Frenchmen passed by, "the thirteen members of Congress took off their thirteen hats" at each salute of the silken flags of King Louis. The French were eager to humble the proud British, with whom they had been at war for centuries.



1781
Surrender of
Cornwallis
(October 16)

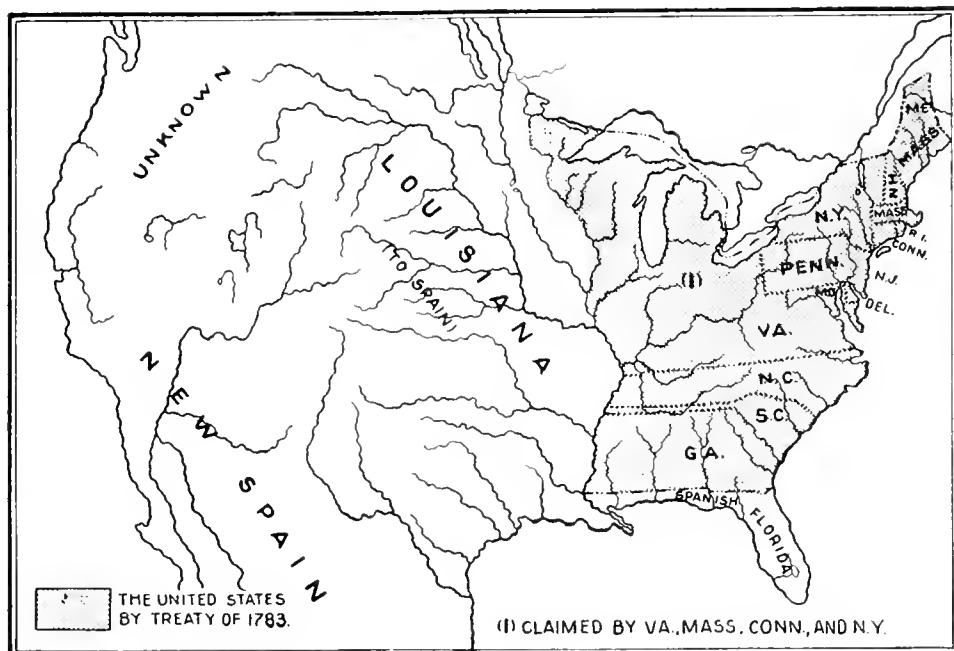
Washington and Rochambeau, by forced marches, soon joined Lafayette. The French were in brilliant uniforms, and the Americans were in stained and tattered homespun, but the same courage animated all as they lay in a vast half circle about the beleaguered city of Yorktown.

With the French fleet in the harbor and the allied armies hemming them in by land, there was no escape for the British. After three weeks of fighting and siege, Cornwallis surrendered, and on the nineteenth of October, 1781, over seven thousand British and Hessians laid down their arms to become prisoners of war. They marched out of Yorktown to the tune of "The World Upside Down." It was quite true that the Old World monarchy was upset; but a New World republic had arisen from its ruins.¹

When the Congress at Philadelphia heard of the victory at Yorktown, it proceeded to the little Lutheran church, and offered up prayers of thanksgiving. In France a *Te Deum* was sung in the great cathedral,

¹ Read Fiske's "American Revolution."

and the king ordered the inhabitants of Paris to put candles in their windows at night. The beams from those candles must have made Franklin rejoice in that far-away city! In England, Lord North cried out in agony: "It is all over!" and resigned his ministry. The House of Commons would not vote any more money to carry on the war against their kinsmen, and King George was forced to make propositions for peace.



John Adams, John Jay, and Benjamin Franklin met British Commissioners at Paris, and, in the name of the United States of America, concluded a treaty of peace.

The chief terms of the treaty of Paris were: First, the recognition of the independence of the United States; second, the cession of the Floridas to Spain, and of the remaining British territory east of the Mississippi to the United States; third, the free navigation of the Mississippi and the lakes; and the retention by Great Britain of Canada and Nova Scotia.

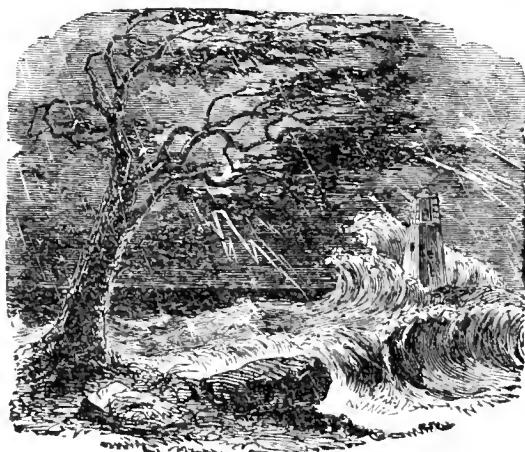
1783
The treaty of Paris
(September 3^d)

The American army disbands
The British fleet sails home

Washington resigns
his commission
(December 23)

Prisoners were exchanged between the two armies. Thousands of Tories, ashamed and afraid to dwell longer in their native land, emigrated to Canada, Nova Scotia, or the West Indies. The American army disbanded. The British fleet sailed from New York. Washington bade farewell to the officers of the army, and embarked for Annapolis where Congress was in session; he resigned his commission, and then hastened, in time for Christmas festivities, to Mount Vernon, which he had only seen once in eight long years.

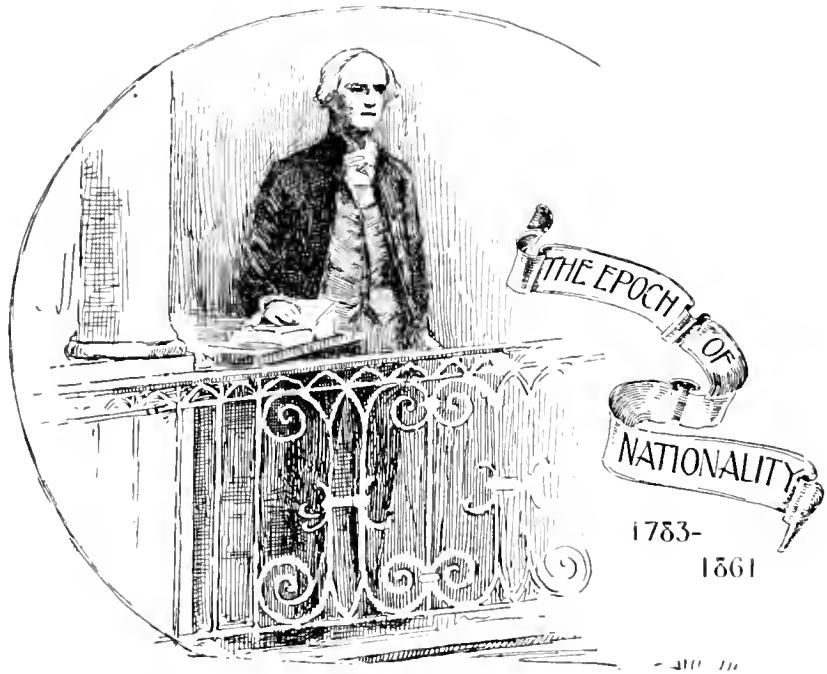
In the treaty of Paris each colony was mentioned separately, as if no union existed. Even to the Americans the thirteen impoverished States, loosely bound together without a king, seemed like a raft embarking upon the sea without a rudder. None dared guess what storms the new year might bring.



III. THE EPOCH OF THE REVOLUTION

1775-1783

	Causes of the Revolution	Commercial restrictions
		Manufacturing restrictions
	First Continental Congress	Taxes without representation
		The Mutiny Act
	1775	The enforcement of Writs of Assistance
		The Quebec Act
	1776	Declaration of Rights and Grievances
		Appeals to Canada, the English people, and the colonies.
	1777	Battle of Lexington
		Battle of Bunker Hill
	1778	Battle of Ticonderoga
		Second Continental Congress
	1779	Expedition to Canada
		Evacuation of Boston by the British
	1780	Defeat at Quebec
		Hessians hired by the king
	1781	Second Continental Congress
		Battle of Long Island
	1782	British occupy New York City
		Washington's retreat
	1783	Battle of Trenton
		Second Continental Congress
	1777	Washington at Morristown
		The British occupy Philadelphia
	1778	Burgoyne invades New York State
		Burgoyne's defeat at Saratoga
	1779	Washington at Valley Forge
		A fleet sent from France
	1780	Clinton evacuates Philadelphia
		Battle of Monmouth
	1781	Washington on the Hudson
		Wyoming and Cherry Valley massacres
	1782	George Rogers Clark conquers the Northwest
		Savannah captured by the British
	1783	Sullivan's expeditions against the Six Nations
		Paul Jones on the <i>Bonhomme Richard</i>
	1776	Capture of Stony Point
		Privateering
	1777	Capture of Charleston by the British
		Battle of Camden
	1778	Arnold's treason
		Battle of King's Mountain
	1779	Battle of Cowpens
		Greene and Cornwallis at Guilford Courthouse
	1780	The Articles of Confederation adopted by the States
		Cornwallis at Yorktown
	1781	Washington arrives from New York
		Surrender of Cornwallis
	1782	Preliminary treaty of peace
		Treaty of Paris
	1783	Evacuation of New York by the British
		The army disbands



CHAPTER XXII

"A MORE PERFECT UNION"

The weakness of
the Confederation

1782
The preliminary
treaty of peace
signed

A crown is offered
to Washington

WHEN the sword of Cornwallis was handed to Washington at Yorktown, danger for the colonies was not yet over. Even when a preliminary treaty of peace was signed in good faith the little republic seemed in almost as great danger as ever before. The colonial troops had been made desperate by the privations of the eight-years' war. There were rumors of a plot to keep a standing army, like the countries of Europe, and force a tax upon the people to support it. It was said that the States would not hold together without an army. Some officers spoke to Washington of a crown; but he refused the suggestion with indignation. He appealed to the troops to continue their devotion to the young nation, for which so many thousands had shed their blood, by resuming their labors at home. And at his word, as we have seen, the Continental army disbanded.

But the patriots returned to blackened towns and

desolate farms. The merchant marine was ruined. Exports were small, and imports were large. Coin was sent out of the country so fast that it was said there would soon be none left to pay the debts of the war. Patriots, like Robert Morris, had advanced large sums from their private fortunes. Congress had borrowed money of France, Holland, and Spain, and these countries were clamoring for pay. Some English gazettes took delight in saying that the United States were in a condition of anarchy and bankruptcy, and did not expect to pay debts.

The war debts

Benjamin Franklin was still at Paris, laboring incessantly for the cause of his country. John Adams, who was sent as minister to England, was discreet and very acute in his judgment of men, yet he could not expect to win favor at court. It was well enough understood that he had not full powers. There were really no full powers for Congress to bestow.

1785

John Adams sent as minister to England

By the Articles of Confederation, Congress might negotiate treaties of commerce, yet it could not enforce them; for each State demanded the control of its own port. Congress might also declare war, make peace, contract debts, and settle controversies between the States; but there was no head to enforce its laws, and no court of appeal. The Whig party, which had held the colonies together, was soon divided on public questions. One faction supported the acts of the Continental Congress, and declared for a tariff on imported goods to pay federal debts. The other faction looked with suspicion on the acts of Congress, claiming that Congress had no right to levy a tax on a State against its will, and that it was not bearable to see the ports of a State crowded with revenue officers collecting vast sums of money, not a penny of which would go into its own treasury. The

Defects of the
Articles of
ConfederationThe Whigs divide
into factions

The State
governments

States had adopted the Articles of Confederation during the war; but they had also framed their own constitutions. The delegates to the Continental Congress obeyed their State governments, and so many were being called home that it began to look as if there would soon be no general government.

Most of the States had issued their own paper money, until a paper dollar was almost worthless. Yet there were riots in some of the States when their legislatures refused to issue paper money. In the western part of Massachusetts the farmers broke up the courts and refused to pay taxes. Daniel Shays, their leader, threatened to overthrow the State government, but, in the end, the militia dispersed the mob.

1780-1787
Shays' rebellion

Things began to look desperate. England predicted that if the Confederation were just left alone, it would fall to pieces of its own weight, that one State after another would be knocking at the door of Parliament for protection against her neighbors; and so, contrary to the treaty, the British garrisons were kept at Detroit and other important posts on the north. Meanwhile, the Spaniards, who had recovered the Floridas by treaty, were laboring to annex to West Florida the American settlements beyond the Blue Ridge.

The British hold
forts on the north

The Spaniards
attempt to annex
the southwest
territory

Opinion is divided
about a new
government

In view of all these difficulties some said that nothing short of a king and a Parliament would give stability to the government. Others said they could not give up the idea of a republic; but since the soil and climate of America was such that one government could not be adapted to the whole country, the merchants and fishermen of New England and the Middle States should form one republic, the planters of the South another, and the pioneers of the West another.

Now, while the people debated in the taverns, the

greatest men of the country were writing letters to one another about how they might save the Confederation from ruin.

A convention to consider trade and commerce met at Annapolis. When it was seen how helpless the Continental Congress was to regulate trade, the convention recommended that Congress call the States together for the purpose of forming a more perfect union. Accordingly, in May, 1787, a quorum of seven States assembled at Philadelphia with closed doors. Soon all the States were represented in the convention, except Rhode Island. It was a noted body of men. Thomas Jefferson and John Adams were still abroad as diplomats; but Benjamin Franklin was there, fresh from victories in the courts of Europe. From the lowest poverty Franklin had won fortune and fame. A French statesman said: "He snatched the lightning from the sky and the scepter from tyrants."

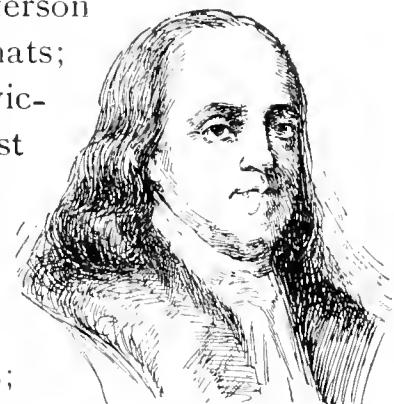
Prints of him hung in the windows of Paris; snuff boxes and the latest neck wear were *à la Franklin*, and *Poor Richard's Almanac*, which he had published in Philadelphia, was translated into several languages. More than thirty years before Franklin had proposed a union between the colonies, and now, in his eightieth year, he met with governors, lawyers, and diplomats to help form a more perfect union. Rumors were rife among the people as to what these men would do. Some said the meeting would break up in a fight, others that a kingdom would be set up, and the crown offered to a British prince.

Meanwhile, in the convention, George Washington was elected president. When the debates began, all agreed that there should be a confederacy of the States, but

1786

The trade
convention at
Annapolis

1787

The Constitutional
Convention at
Philadelphia

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

1706-1790

1754

Franklin had pro-
posed at Albany a
plan of unionGeorge Washington
elected president
of the convention

there were many different opinions about how the league should be made. Some favored the independence of each State, with all the States bound loosely together for offense and defense; others wished a strong central government, to which the States should be subordinate.¹ James Madison, since called the Father of the Constitution, met a committee, and drew up the sketch of a constitution which came to be known as the Virginia plan. Other plans were drafted, and for four months the debate on the framing of a constitution continued.

Many times the meeting almost broke up without accomplishing anything; once the discussion grew so hot that Franklin moved prayer be offered; but at last, the "Virginia plan" for the Constitution of the United States was adopted, with some compromises. This Constitution provides for a general government, which shall have power vested in itself to act; to be divided into three departments; the legislative, or Congress, to make the laws; the executive, or president, to enforce the laws; and the judicial, or Federal Courts, to decide disputed questions under the laws.

The three compromises

To satisfy the smaller States, an equal representation in the Senate was allowed; to please the slave States, three fifths of all slaves were to be counted for a basis of representation in the House of Representatives and the importation of slaves was permitted till 1808; to silence the complaints of the commercial States of the North against these last compromises, it was promised that exports should never be taxed; and to relieve all the States from the feeling that they were forging an iron-bound government from which they could never appeal, it was agreed that amendments should be added as they were needed.

¹ Read McMaster's "With the Fathers;" Franklin's "Autobiography."

The form of union thus adopted by the Constitutional Convention of 1787 is unexcelled in the history of the world.¹

As the last names were signed to the Constitution, the aged Franklin pointed toward the painted sun on the back of Washington's chair, and said: "I have often, in the course of the session, looked at the sun behind the president without being able to tell whether we were in the presence of a rising or a setting sun, but now, at length, I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting sun."

Washington, as president of the Convention, sent the Constitution to the Continental Congress, asking that it be submitted to the States for adoption.

1787
The Constitution
is signed
(September 17)

CHAPTER XXIII

FEDERALISTS AND ANTI-FEDERALISTS.

THE Continental Congress, then at New York City, agreed to submit the Constitution to the States for adoption or rejection. When it was published, America became a great debating ground. In the newspapers and in conventions and legislatures every item of the Constitution was discussed. Two parties were formed, the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists.

The Federalists were largely clergymen who had influence at the town meetings, business men, and military officers. They wished a firm government, and spoke boldly for the Constitution. And for the very reason

Federalists and
Anti-Federalists

¹ Read the "Constitution of the United States," Appendix.

that this class was so enthusiastic for its adoption, the farmers and those who dreaded taxes were suspicious of the new government. "These lawyers and moneyed men, who talk so smoothly, expect to be the rulers," they said. "If they tax us, we can not resist; for look you, the army is put at the beck and call of any president they may choose to elect."

Some strong men were among the Anti-Federalists. In New York, they were led by Governor George Clinton, who thought the commercial interests of New York would be injured by tariffs. In Virginia, Patrick Henry was their leader. He said that freedom was endangered by a strong centralized government which would be little better than a king. In Massachusetts, Samuel Adams feared the wisdom of one government for so many different States.

But some working men called a meeting at the Green Dragon Tavern in Boston. They adopted resolutions in favor of the Constitution, saying that if it were rejected, the trades would decay, and skilful mechanics would be compelled to seek employment in strange lands. A committee bore the resolutions to Adams, whom all loved for his noble conduct during the war. Paul Revere, who had aroused the minute men for the battle of Lexington, handed the paper to Adams. "How many mechanics were at the Green Dragon?" he asked. "More, sir, than the Green Dragon could hold," answered Paul Revere. "And where were the rest, Mr. Revere?" "In the streets, sir." "And how many were in the streets?" "More, sir, than there are stars in the sky." Samuel Adams had strong faith in the judgment of the industrious mechanics, and resolved from that moment to be a Federalist.

The Federalists were the ablest speakers and writers.

Samuel Adams and
the meeting at the
Green Dragon

The men who signed the Constitution had debated four months at Philadelphia. They knew just what the objections would be and how to answer them. Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay wrote a series of essays called "The Federalist," which, even to-day, is considered the best interpretation of the Constitution that has ever been written.

But with the great mass of people the *character* of the men who advocated the adoption of the new government had the most weight. "Would Washington, the patriot," they said, "after creating an army and guiding it to victory in defense of the nation, wish to destroy the nation?" "Would Benjamin Franklin, the wise statesman, who knew the faults of all governments, urge oppression on his countrymen?"

Such arguments had influence with the people, and eight States had ratified by May 23, 1788. They were Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maryland, and South Carolina. According to Article VII of the Constitution, the ratification of nine States was necessary to establish the government. Days stretched into weeks. The remaining States still hesitated to bind themselves to an agreement which restricted their powers.

At last, on June 21, New Hampshire ratified. The government of the United States then actually existed. Virginia ratified five days later, and when the fourth of July came, there were two events to celebrate, the Declaration of Independence and the Adoption of the Constitution of the United States.

At Philadelphia ten ships in the Delaware, representing the ten States that had adopted the Constitution, were draped in bunting, and at each mast fluttered a flag with the name of a State. One float in a long proces-

"The Federalist"

1788

New Hampshire, the
ninth State to ratify
the Constitution
(June 21)

The Declaration of
Independence and
the adoption of the
Constitution
celebrated together
(July 4)

sion was the Federal temple, whose dome was supported by thirteen pillars, three of which were unfinished, because three States had not yet signed the Constitution. But while in some cities there were rejoicings, there were riots in others; the Anti-Federalists had no faith in the new government.

The Constitution of the United States had now been legally adopted, yet the excitement continued. Would New York ratify? That was the next question. The State was the wedge between the New England and the Middle and Southern States. If New York remained out of the Union with separate commercial and political interests, the stability of the new government would be endangered. Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and other Federalists, worked day and night with the New York convention, and on July 26, the Constitution was adopted.

The old Continental Congress set the days for choosing presidential electors in the States and casting the electoral votes. It made the first Wednesday in March

The 4th of March
the time for the assembling of the new Senate and House of Representatives. This chanced to be the fourth of March, and Congress afterward fixed that day for the beginning of the presidential term of office. Of course we know that electors are now all chosen by popular vote, but in 1788 the people in some of the States voted for them directly, only a portion of the people voted for them in others, while the legislatures chose them in others.

The electors chosen met on the day appointed. They cast their votes for two candidates; the one receiving the highest vote would be president and the other vice-president. New York City had been made the temporary capital, and there, on April 6, 1789,

The 4th of March



GEORGE WASHINGTON
1732-1799

the first Congress of the United States counted the electoral vote, and announced that George Washington had been chosen president and John Adams vice-president of the United States.

Washington was notified of his election. On his journey from Mount Vernon to New York he received much attention. "Washington's March" was played to the air now known as "Hail Columbia," and flowers were strewn in his pathway as he passed through some of the towns.

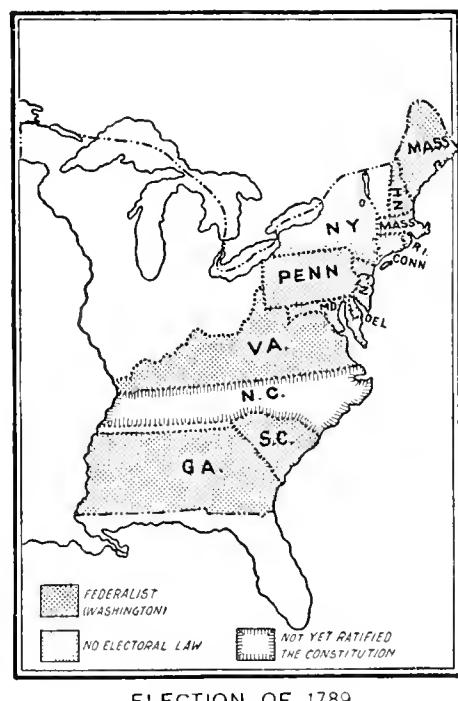
On the thirtieth of April, Washington proceeded with a military escort to Federal Hall, where both houses of the new Congress were already assembled. Then with Vice-President Adams, Congress, and invited guests he proceeded to the balcony. An immense concourse of people was gathered below to greet him.

Washington, tall and dignified, bowed again and again. He was clothed in a dark brown suit of American manufacture, white silk stockings, and shoes with silver buckles; his hair was powdered, and tied in a silk bag; a sword hung at his side.

Chancellor Robert R. Livingston stood on one side, John Adams on the other; Alexander Hamilton, Baron Steuben, and other distinguished men were grouped near. The Chancellor held up his hand for silence. The vast crowd stood in deepest veneration while he administered the oath of office upon the Bible, which James Otis held on a crimson cushion. Washington repeated the words in a clear voice, and whispered, as if to himself, "So help me God," and kissed the Book. Then Chancellor Livingston exclaimed aloud, "Long live

1789

George Washington
elected president of
the United States
(April 6)



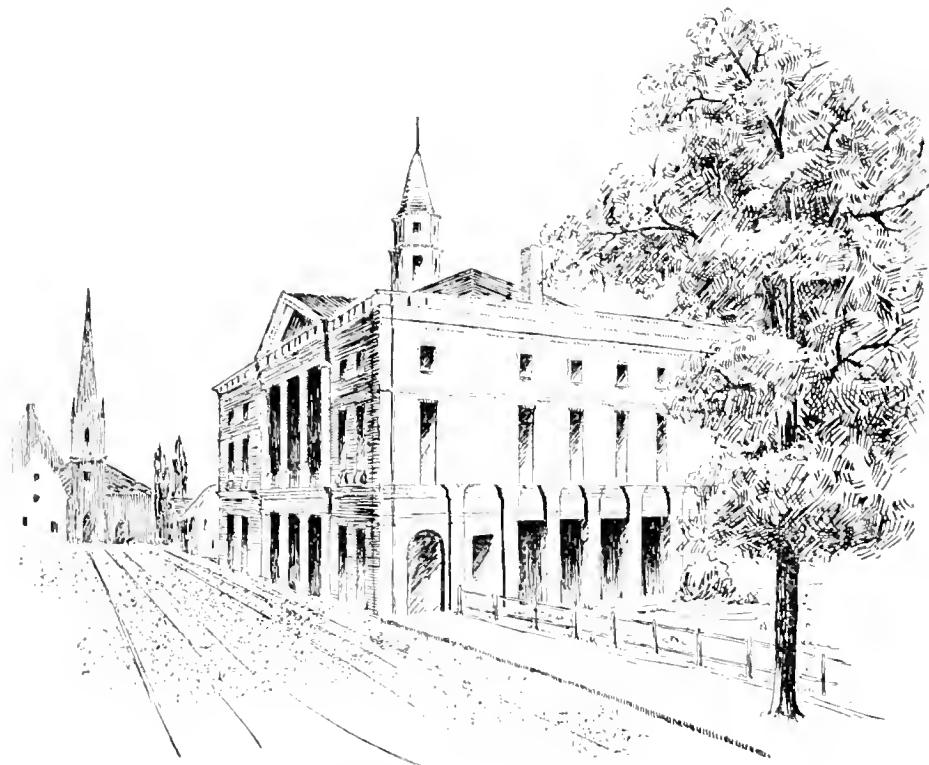
ELECTION OF 1789

Washington's
inauguration
(April 30)

The government of
the United States
of America begins

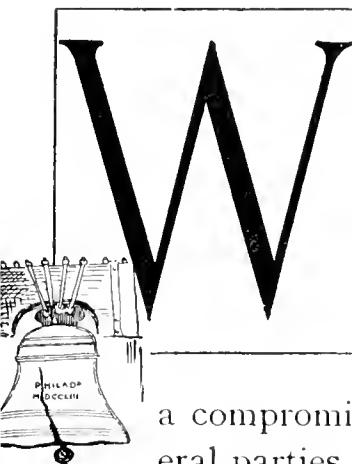
George Washington, president of the United States," and the people took up the words in a great cry. Cocked hats were tossed, handkerchiefs fluttered, and above all fluttered the new flag of the Union.

The government of a republic had begun !



CHAPTER XXIV

GEORGE WASHINGTON (FIRST PRESIDENT, 1789-1797),
FEDERALIST



ASHINGTON'S inaugural address was delivered in the presence of the members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives. There were few present who had signed the Constitution. Party spirit had been bitter in the elections, and the members of our first Congress were largely a compromise between the Federal and Anti-Federal parties; but they were earnest, patriotic men.

Washington's
inaugural address

When Washington retired from the Senate Chamber, it became a grave question what title Congress should use in a reply to the president. Should he be called "High Mightiness," or "Serene Highness"? In all the world there had never been an office just like that held by George Washington. Some said it would not add to his glory to class him with the petty princes of Europe, and that the simple name of president was the proudest name of all. And so the first words of the reply were, "George Washington, President of the United States, Sir:—" Congress then arranged to complete the executive department by giving the president three secretaries. It provided for a Supreme Court, with a Chief Justice and five associate Justices, and divided the United States into three circuit and thirteen district courts. Washington named John Jay the first chief justice.

The executive
department

The judicial
department

Washington chose Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, sec-

Thomas Jefferson,
secretary of state;
Alexander Hamilton,
secretary of the
treasury; General
Knox, secretary
of war

The importance of
the treasury
department
A tonnage tax

A protective tariff

1789
The first tariff least
opposed of any in
our history

retary of state, Alexander Hamilton, of New York, secretary of the treasury, and General Henry Knox, of Massachusetts, secretary of war. Now, in our times, a position in the president's cabinet means honor at home and abroad; but in this first year of the republic it seemed to promise only dishonor. The foreign department faced the haughty monarchs of Europe who deemed the Republic an upstart, the war department faced anarchy, and the treasury department faced national bankruptcy.

Only a sound financial policy could save the reputation of the government. And the first thing to do was to create a revenue. A tonnage tax was accordingly put on foreign ships. For example, at fifty cents a ton a vessel of four hundred tons was obliged to pay to the revenue officers two hundred dollars before it could unload its cargo at any of our ports.

According to the Constitution no duties could be laid upon exported goods; but a revenue might be created by a tax on imports. So a tax was placed on several foreign articles. New England and Pennsylvania secured, after a long debate, a light protective tariff for some goods they were beginning to manufacture, and the Southern States were favored by a tariff on cotton and coal. Cotton was just beginning to be much cultivated, and Virginia seemed to have enough coal to supply the whole country. This first tariff bill, which the president signed on the fourth of July, was more acceptable to all sections of the country than any that has since been passed by Congress, because the strong sectional features of American industries had not yet developed.

Custom houses were established at ports of entry along the coast, and the treasury of the United States received the revenues to disburse for expenses of the government and payments on the war debt.

Twelve amendments were proposed by Congress, and submitted to the States. Ten of them were ratified by three fourths of the States, and became a part of the Constitution as we have them to-day.¹

1791
Constitutional
amendments
adopted

It was by discussing these amendments that Americans began to see how perfect the new government was —how it could never be an instrument of oppression because the people themselves might adapt it to their needs as time and circumstances might demand.

Meanwhile Alexander Hamilton, secretary of the treasury, had prepared his financial report. He showed that the entire debt, both State and national, incurred for the war, amounted to nearly eighty millions of dollars. This debt had been created for a common use. He declared that the policy of the government should be to assume the whole debt. Now, some States were large debtors and some were small. The Anti-Federalists said it would be an act of oppression to tax all States in the same proportion.

National and State
war debts assumed
by the general
government

It took a long time to agree about this matter. The people said congressmen were earning their six dollars a day very easily, and that they should be hired by the job instead of by the day. But, at last, Congress passed the bills to assume both State and national debts incurred for the war. Interest-bearing bonds were issued to creditors. That same year Rhode Island ratified the Constitution, and, as John Adams expressed it, the thirteen States, like thirteen clocks, began striking together.

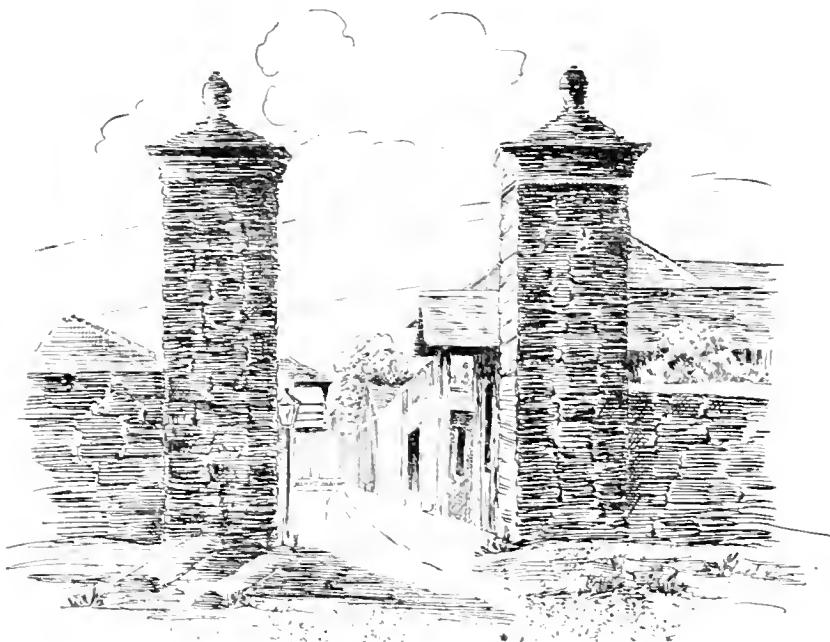
1790
Bonding the debt

The United States were confined to the east slope of the Appalachian Mountains. On the north was Canada, with its scattered French population, under the control of a British governor. On the south was Spanish Florida. The broad roadway, which once led from

The thirteen
United States

¹ See Amendments to the Constitution, Appendix.

quaint old St. Augustine to Pensacola, was overgrown with brushwood, and not more than two hundred families dwelt outside these two towns. Beyond the western mountains was a vast region with memories of Braddock's campaign and the massacres of settlers. On the eastern borders stretched the sea, the highway to the markets of the world.



GATES AT ST. AUGUSTINE

The thirteen commonwealths that lay facing the sea may be grouped into three great divisions.

In New England there were Maine, a stretch of barren coast, which still belonged to Massachusetts; New Hampshire; Vermont, which, though claimed by New York, hoped soon to add another star to the flag by admission to the Union; Massachusetts; Rhode Island, and Connecticut,— all still a wilderness except on the coast and along the rivers. At Lowell, where thousands of spindles would soon be humming, a few scattered families made their living by catching fish.

The New Englanders were still thrifty mechanics, small farmers, fishermen, shipbuilders, and traders. They still met at the taverns, where John Adams had first learned, by listening to the talk of the people, that independence was sure to come. And now that citizens had a hand in the affairs of thirteen States instead of just one, there were more meetings than ever.

The farmers and trades people wore buckskin and homespun, cocked hats, and stout shoes, with brass buckles. The farmer put his children to work on the farm; the mechanic apprenticed his sons to others like himself, and his daughters often went out to service.

In the Middle States, the people of New York centered about the Hudson, and many still spoke the language of the Dutch patroons. The Germans and other foreigners in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware were prosperous and contented.

The Southern States, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia were still agricultural. Trades and merchandise seemed degrading to the cavaliers; even the great Jefferson said: "While we have land to labor, let us never wish to see our citizens occupied at a workbench or twirling a distaff." Serene and picturesque lay these Southern States in the midst of winding rivers and sweeping stretches of rich plantations. The masters lived like princes, the poor whites gambled, quarreled, and starved, and the negroes toiled in the fields.

Of the cities in the United States, Philadelphia

The Middle States

The Southern States



Philadelphia.

had outstripped all. William Penn had made it famous in every part of Europe before its streets had been well laid out, and then Benjamin Franklin made it still more famous by his discoveries in electricity and his wit as "Poor Richard."

Boston

Boston, upon which the hand of oppression had fallen most heavily, was the second city in size. Its crooked, narrow streets, and green stretch of commons, where Liberty had first sought a home, were already becoming historic.

New York

New York City was third in size and importance. It was in miniature what it is to-day. At least eighteen different languages were spoken on its streets, and its docks were crowded with ships that sailed on every sea. The city was full of Tories who had been protected by the British army during the whole of the war, and now that the capital of the nation was there, they paid homage to the president, and seemed determined to make him as much of a king as they could.

Baltimore,
Richmond,
Charleston,
Savannah

Baltimore, Richmond, Charleston, and Savannah were small, yet beautiful cities, where few but rich planters lived.

Politics in the South

Many of the planters had been educated in England, and were gentlemen of leisure. There were the governor's receptions to occupy their attention; and the promenades, where they saw cavaliers on spirited horses, and ladies in gilded coaches, and the State capitols, where they loitered to listen to the orations of eloquent patriots. A planter's highest ambition had always been the House of Burgesses, and now the Congress of the United States offered a fine opportunity to show the skill in debate he had acquired in wrangles with the royal governors.¹

¹ Read Thackeray's "The Virginians."

Both in the North and in the South there were many discomforts. The great colonial houses with broad oaken stairways and wainscoted chambers were devoid of the commonest conveniences of to-day.

There were no houses of correction or reformatories or penitentiaries with workshops and schools. A prisoner for debt was thrown into the same pen with the very worst criminals. One prison was an old copper mine, where the victims were kept with their feet fastened to the ground and their necks chained to beams overhead. In all the colonies the stocks, the whipping post, and the ducking stools were still seen on the public highways, and ears were cropped, and letters burned into the flesh of the wayward. Diseases ran riot, with no hand to stay epidemics. The family physician rode his rounds with saddlebags of strong medicine, which he dosed out for all complaints alike.

A tooth was extracted or a broken leg sawed off with no remedy to benumb the pain. It was, indeed, the "survival of the fittest" in those "good old days" when Washington became president of the United States.

But whatever else was lacking, there was no lack of great men. The Americans had written the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, "The Federalist," and scores of pamphlets and editorials which the statesmen of Europe declared had never been surpassed.

The vigorous financial policy of the new government created a favorable effect both at home and abroad. The price of public securities advanced. Some of the foreign loans went above par. Trade revived. Ship-

The discomforts of
the "good old
times"

Public penalties



PUNISHMENT FOR A SCOLD

The family physician

The statesmen of
America

The national credit
is strengthened

building increased. New manufactories were started. Sheep were raised to feed the mills with wool, and iron ore was fished from the bottom of ponds and dug from the mountain side to smelt in the furnaces fed with charcoal.

To protect the crude inventions which began to appear, Thomas Jefferson, the secretary of state, induced Congress to establish a patent office. First, a grain cutter was patented, by which one man could cut five acres of wheat a day; then a thrashing machine, which beat out as much wheat as forty men with flails. Another patent was for a water mill, to spin flax.

The sixth patent which Jefferson accepted was the famous cotton "gin," or engine, of Eli Whitney. Little did he think how the destinies of his beloved South hung on the teeth of that rude machine! The cotton gin, by cleaning cotton a thousand times faster than had ever been done before, made the cultivation of cotton so profitable that it changed the views of the Southern States on the tariff question, and planted more firmly than ever the system of slavery, which Jefferson himself said he hated and hoped to live to see abolished.

That same year the first census of the United States and their Territories showed the population to be nearly four million. Bountiful harvests added to the general prosperity of the country; pike roads began to be laid out from one town to another, and bridges built across streams. The people were thus drawing closer together.

Meanwhile, President Washington had the responsibility of establishing precedents in executive etiquette. He desired to avoid the rigid ceremonies of a king, yet

1790
The patent office



ELI WHITNEY
1755-1825

The cotton "gin"
of Eli Whitney

1790
The first census
shows a population
of four million

Internal
improvements

deemed it necessary to maintain the public dignity in the eyes of Europe. The aristocratic citizens of New York delighted to see his cream-colored chariot drawn by six horses with footmen and outriders in livery. They lauded Washington's dignity at the Tuesday afternoon levees, when, surrounded by his brilliant cabinet, with cocked hat under his arm, he bowed to each guest and exchanged a few words. They cherished the Friday evening entertainments of "Lady" Washington, where the beauty and wit of the nation were brought together.

Presidential precedents

The levees

Yet some criticized these "scrapings and bowings." They complained because the president drove in a coach instead of sauntering along the avenues with the common people, who were as good as himself ; and because he would not sit in the taverns to chat over matters of the cabinet and Congress. When his birthday was celebrated with barbecues and a holiday in the shops, they said he was little better than a king, and nicknamed him the "American George." Vice-President Jefferson despised the ceremony he saw, and said it was not the way a republican government should be conducted.

Washington's birthday

And so in the heart of the new nation two factions were formed : the one, led by Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, John Adams, and Rufus King, was composed of conservative, college-bred men, merchants, and manufacturers who feared radical measures, and pinned their faith to a strong central government ; the other, led by Thomas Jefferson, James Monroe, Albert Gallatin, and John Randolph, was made up of those who detested court manners, believed in more "States' rights," opposed the national bank and the payment of State debts by the federal government.

The two factions

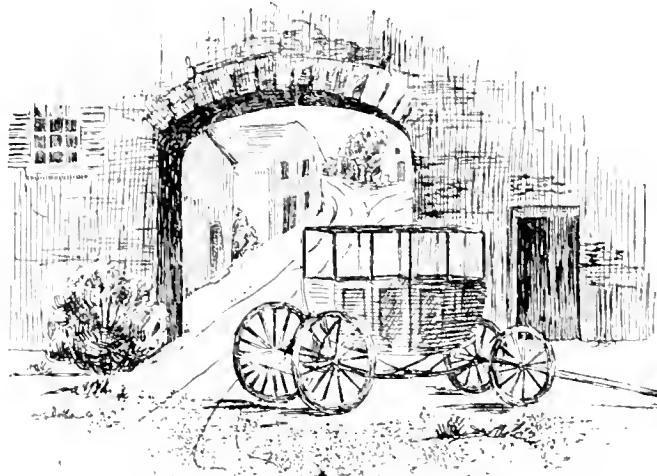
But while under his very eyes dissensions and jealousies were raging, President Washington moved on

with such serene dignity in what he believed was right that he won the admiration of Europe and the veneration of his own countrymen.

1791

Washington makes a
journey through
the South

Because the seat of government was in the North, he made a three-months' journey in his private carriage through the States in the South, and by his cordial manners united the two sections more closely together. Very soon after this journey to the South, some remarkable events occurred in the West; but before recounting them it will be necessary to make a review of the progress made by the West since the war of the Revolution.



STAGECOACH, TIME OF WASHINGTON

CHAPTER XXV

GEORGE WASHINGTON (1789-1797) (CONTINUED), FEDERALIST

As we have seen, George Rogers Clark set the American flag over the region north of the Ohio River, and by the treaty of Paris it was ceded to the United States. The country was about twice as large as Great Britain and Ireland. Its great lakes held nearly one half the fresh water of the whole globe. Its prairies, forests, and mines contained exhaustless wealth. But to the British people it seemed only a wilderness, dangerously full of lurking savages. The Americans themselves knew little of the real value of these lands, which were claimed by New York (through purchase), Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Virginia (through charters).

On condition that all the colonies bind themselves in a confederation, these four States had given the Continental Congress a clear title to most of the western lands, to be sold to help pay the debts of the war.

Virginia reserved one tract of land, between the Scioto and Miami Rivers, as a bounty for her veterans of the Revolutionary war, and another, farther west, for Clark and others who had helped to wrest it from the British. Connecticut held back a strip of land along the shore of Lake Erie, called the Western Reserve.

The Continental Congress had agreed to divide the new territory into sections, townships, and ranges for public sale. And while the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia was debating on the plan for the formation of a new government, the remnant of the Conti-

1778

The territory north
of the Ohio secured
by Clark

1780-1786

Four States
surrender claims to
western lands

"The Ordinance
of 1787

ental Congress lingered in New York to finish its work before adjourning for the last time.

This old Congress had done grand things. It had declared the independence of the colonies, and supplied the sinews of war as best it could. But now the greatest work was yet to do.

Almost unnoticed in the excitement about the new Constitution the few delegates organized the ceded lands into "The Territory of the United States northwest of the River Ohio,"¹ and wrote out an "Ordinance" by which it was to be governed until the population was sufficient to form into Territories and States.

This Ordinance was a marvelous instrument from beginning to end; but upon its sixth article hung great issues for the future. By this article slavery was abolished forever. The years would bring changes in the attitude of the original thirteen States toward the slavery question. But as for Northwest Territory, its policy was fixed by law in the Ordinance of 1787. There could be no slavery north of the Ohio River.

Several trading posts and log forts were scattered through the Ohio valley at that time. There were Fort Chartres and Kaskaskia on the Mississippi, Fort Vincennes on the Wabash, Fort Harmar on the Muskingum, and other smaller forts.²

The government sold about five million acres of land to the Ohio and Scioto Land Companies, and settlement began. Forty-seven colonists floated down the Ohio in the flat boat *Mayflower* from Pittsburg. These Pilgrims landed opposite the frowning bastions of Fort

The Northwest Territory

Slavery abolished forever north of the Ohio

The forts in the West

The government sells land to the Ohio Land Company

¹ Read Hinsdale's "The Old Northwest."

² See map, facing page 189.

Harmar, and built a few huts. Soon more emigrants came down the river under charge of Mannassah Cutler who had helped purchase the land. When these reached the little settlement, a meeting was held. The place was named Marietta, and thus the oldest town in Ohio was founded. Washington, who had led armies into the valley to prepare the way for this western immigration, watched the lonely settlement with the keenest interest. "No colony in America," said he, "was ever settled under such favorable auspices as that which has just commenced on the Muskingum. I know many of the settlers personally." Other towns were soon built. Losantiville, afterward called Cincinnati, was founded. Within the year ten thousand emigrants crossed the mountains to find new homes. Many had sought the wilderness to avoid debt and punishment. But many more were sturdy men and boys whose ever-increasing numbers became the talk of the taverns on the coast.

1788
Marietta founded
on the Muskingum

War soon broke out with the Indians who wished to recover the lands they had sold. The settlers fled to the forts. Washington sent General St. Clair, the governor of the Northwest Territory, with two thousand men to Fort Washington at Cincinnati to attack the Indians. "Beware a surprise," was the solemn warning, as he bade his old military comrade good-by.

Cincinnati

1790

War with the
Miami Indians

At the head waters of the Wabash St. Clair's army was surprised by Little Turtle and his Miami warriors. After a fierce struggle, half of the soldiers were killed, and the fleeing remnant found shelter at Fort Washington. The president was shocked and grieved at the result of this expedition. "I charged him, over and over again, 'Beware a surprise'!" he exclaimed.

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR

1734-1818

1791

St. Clair's defeat

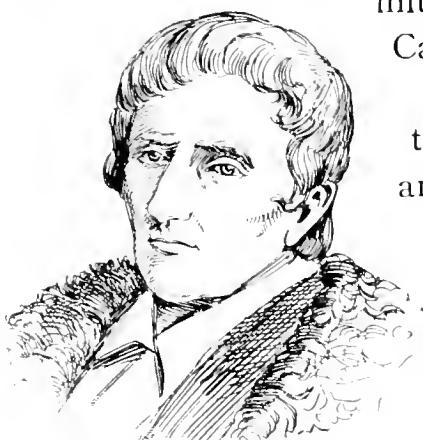


1793
"Mad Anthony"
Wayne defeats
the Indians

1791
Vermont admitted
to the Union

1790
"The territory
southwest of
the Ohio"

1769
Daniel Boone
explores Kentucky



DANIEL BOONE

1735-1820

1774-1775
Harrodsburg and
Boonesborough
founded

General Wayne was appointed to succeed St. Clair in command of the western garrison—"Mad Anthony," he was called from his impetuous fighting during the Revolution. Wayne built forts, and defeated the Indians in a great battle at the falls of the Maumee River. The chiefs then purchased peace by ceding the land as far west as the Wabash; and emigrants pressed into the Northwest Territory in greater numbers than ever.

Meanwhile the coast of Maine and the western part of New York were being settled; and Vermont, the "Republic of the Green Mountains," was added to the Union as the fourteenth State.

The year that the ordinance for the Northwest Territory was framed, South Carolina ceded her lands west of the Blue Ridge Mountains to the Congress, and two years later North Carolina ceded what is now Tennessee. Congress united the two cessions, and formed the "Territory southwest of the Ohio River." Slavery was permitted because it had been stipulated by the Carolinas at the time of the cessions.

Now, about the beginning of the Revolution the backwoodsmen on the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania had crossed the mountains to find homes south of the Ohio. Daniel

Boone, a young trapper, first threaded his way to Kentucky, the "dark and bloody" hunting-ground of the Indian Confederacies. Harrodsburg and Boonesborough were founded. And when rumors came through the

forests of the first battle of Massachusetts against the British red coats, a party of hunters on the Elkhorn gave the name of Lexington to the spot where they camped.

As the trappers followed the game, so the settlers fol-

lowed the trappers. The backwoodsmen on the east slope of the mountains passed through Cumberland Gap, forded rivers, chose their resting place, and erected a palisade fort, to protect their rude homes. Boys, before their teens, were given their own loopholes to use in case of an attack from the Indians. The settlements had their captains, and levied their riflemen for drill. There were some ruffians, but many heroes among these pioneers. The women spun wild flax or the wool of their flocks into yarn, and wove it into cloth. The trappers beat the forest for game, or plundered the hollow trees of honey, and bartered their spoils for the necessities of life.

Life beyond the
mountains

These backwoodsmen in leather clothes who fought so desperately with "red skins" had a reputation for lawlessness among the plantations of Virginia. A "Kentuc"^{A "Kentuc"} is said to have been the "cowboy" of those days, and was dreaded almost as much as an Indian.¹ After a time the rude cabins clustered into villages with a tavern, a schoolhouse, and a little church. Then, under a great elm at Boonesborough, delegates from the towns met in convention. Laws were enacted, and Kentucky became a commonwealth, subject to Virginia. That same year twelve hundred Cherokees met on the Wautauga in council with the white men. Herds of beeves were furnished for a feast. The chiefs sold the lands along the Kentucky and Cumberland Rivers for fifty thousand dollars, in money and merchandise. But other tribes claimed the same lands. The warriors from the north crossed the Ohio for booty until the famous expedition

1775
The territorial
convention

of Clark brought peace to the troubled frontier.

Then thousands of settlers came to Kentucky in flat

1778-1779
Clark secured the
white belt from the
Indian warriors

¹ Read Roosevelt's "Winning of the West."

boats or with pack horses. Many of the gentry from Virginia came, who had lost their property during the war; and the young planters and lawyers took the lead in politics. Eleven years after Virginia ceded her claim to the territory west of the mountains, Kentucky was admitted to the Union as the fifteenth State.

1792
Kentucky becomes
a State

1796
Tennessee adds the
sixteenth star to
the flag

Nashville and
Knoxville

1789
North Carolina's
final cession of
Tennessee

1796
Tennessee admitted
to the Union

The debate on the
location of the
federal capital

Four years later, Tennessee added the sixteenth star to the flag. The first settlers of Tennessee had fled beyond the mountains from the oppressions of the royal governor of North Carolina. Most of these were brave and sturdy yeomen, who built palisaded towns for their families, cleared the woods, and fought the Indians. Soon in the rich valley of the Cumberland, Nashville became the chief town; and where the Holston runs down to the Tennessee, Knoxville was the center of trade. A vast and gloomy forest between the two settlements sheltered the wild game and the still wilder Indians. North Carolina first ceded this territory to the Continental Congress in 1784, and its settlers organized the State of Franklin with John Sevier as governor. North Carolina then repealed the cession; but, as we have seen, five years later, after South Carolina had ceded her western claim, North Carolina again ceded the territory of Tennessee. In due time, Tennessee was admitted to the Union as a State, with Andrew Jackson as representative in Congress.

During the first Congress of the United States there was a great debate about a permanent location for the federal capital. All agreed that it should be near the center of population. The following year, in accordance with the provision of the Constitution, a census was taken, and the center of population was found to be twenty-three miles east of Baltimore. One member of Congress declared it would remain there for ages; but if

it moved at all, it would move toward the east, because of the commerce with Europe. Yet, during the administration of the first president, the West was already forming itself into States. And if we do not give close heed from this time on in our historical study, we shall not be able to follow the westward strides of the people of the United States.

1790
The center of population at the first census

CHAPTER XXVI

GEORGE WASHINGTON (1789-1797) (CONTINUED),
FEDERALIST

WHILE States and Territories were being cut out of the new West, the president and Congress were shaping national affairs. The government was moved to Philadelphia as a temporary residence until the capitol might be erected on the Potomac.

1790
Philadelphia the temporary capital

The financial condition of the country was still serious. Commerce could not well suffer a higher tax on imports, yet there must be more revenue to pay the federal debt. An impost tax was accordingly put upon distilled spirits manufactured at home, and the tariff on foreign liquors increased. Hamilton proposed a national bank. He explained the national banking system of Europe; and, after much opposition, a charter was granted to the bank of the United States for twenty years.

Congress then established a mint for coining money. There had been no national coinage. Except coppers from some of the colonies, the coin used was the product of foreign mints. English guineas,



ALEXANDER HAMILTON
1757-1804

1792

A mint established

crowns, shillings, and pence were in circulation, and many French and Spanish and some German coins.

During the war, the Spanish dollar was made the basis of exchange, owing to the large amount of Spanish money used in trade with New Orleans and the West Indies.

The decimal system

Congress now adopted the decimal system, and ordered that gold, silver, and copper should be coined free, as it was presented to the mint ; the gold to be made into eagles, half eagles, and quarter eagles ; the silver into dollars, half dollars, quarters, dimes, and half dimes ; the copper into cents and half cents. The ratio between gold and silver was fixed at fifteen to one. This meant that fifteen grains of pure silver should be on a legal par with one grain of pure gold. There had been little native gold or silver discovered, however, and the foreign money continued long in circulation.

Trouble brewing
with England

During Washington's first administration clouds began to gather over the "rising sun," which Franklin had seen. England had not yet given up the western forts on the lakes. Congress declared that the treaty had been violated, and demanded the surrender of the forts. Merchants and shipowners complained that when an English ship needed sailors, Americans were impressed on the high seas ; and that their vessels were boarded and condemned by English officers because of their carrying trade with the French West Indies.

Meanwhile, the French people overthrew the authority of Louis XVI and proclaimed a republic, and, the following year, war broke out between England and France.

Indeed all Europe was gathering forces to crush the republic in France; for if one throne fell, it might carry others down with it. The French Directory called from across the sea to the Americans. "We helped you,"

1792

The French people
depose Louis XVIThe French appeal
to Americans for
aid in establishing
a republic

they said, "when you were struggling against an oppressor. Come and help us."

This was a stirring appeal to the Anti-Federalists. The feeling grew so strong that factions developed into parties. The Anti-Federalists, or Republicans, with Jefferson at their head, were the warm friends of the Revolutionists in France; the Federalists, with Hamilton as their leader, were shocked at the mob rule in Paris, and preferred the law and order of a constitutional monarchy such as that of England. Washington hesitated to take up arms against England. It seemed best that friendly relations should exist between the only two English nations. So he proclaimed neutrality.

Notwithstanding bitter party feeling, Washington was unanimously chosen president for a second term. But party feeling increased. The Republicans charged the Federalists with trying to conform the government to that of England. They themselves copied after the French. They discarded silk stockings and powdered queues as imitations of the English Georges. They wore the pantaloons down to the ankle and close fitting, the vest so short it almost came to the armpits, and the coat cut away to a long point behind; the hair was cropped short, and the cocked hat was displaced for a high hat much too small for the head. Republican young ladies wore their hair in ringlets, and minced about with their dresses long, and scant in width, in great contrast with the wide skirts of the Federalist ladies. Mr. and Mrs. were changed to Citizen and Cittess; and there were liberty caps, cockades, and civic feasts, after the fashion of the Republicans of France.

Washington remained neutral in these troublous times. He sent Chief Justice John Jay to England to obtain redress for the seizure of neutral vessels, and to settle

Republicans and
Federalists

1793
Washington issues
a proclamation of
neutrality
(April 22)

Washington
re-elected for a
second term

French influences
in social affairs

1794
John Jay a special
envoy to England

1793
Citizen Genet

Genet presents his
official papers to
Washington

The Republicans
give Genet a
banquet

Washington
remains neutral

boundary lines on the north. Yet he did not sympathize with France. He was alarmed at the excesses of the French mobs. It was the very day that "Citizen Genet" arrived in Charleston on his way to Philadelphia to ask aid of the United States that Washington issued the proclamation of neutrality, and warned Americans from aiding either England or France in their wars.

Genet, before he even presented his credentials, bought and equipped two sailing vessels as privateers, and manned them with American sailors to attack British merchantmen. After a triumphant journey from Charleston, he presented his papers to President Washington. He complained that the president received him coldly, and that the medallion of Louis XVI hung in the parlors of the executive mansion. But the French minister had no reason to complain of his treatment by the Republicans. They gave a banquet at Philadelphia in his honor. The toasts denounced aristocrats. Genet sang the *Marseillaise*, the Republican hymn of France. He placed the red liberty cap on his own head, and all the guests put it on in turn.

Washington remained firm to his policy of neutrality. He said the American people were grateful for the generous aid of France, in their time of need; but it seemed unwise to involve the United States in European quarrels. Besides, it had been Louis XVI and Lafayette who had sent aid to the colonies. The present French Republic had beheaded the one, and sent the other into exile.

When Genet found that he could not mold Washington to his views, he endeavored to alienate the people from him. He used violent language against the president, filled out commissions for American officers in the French army, and sent agents to Kentucky to incite the

settlers to take up arms against the Spanish settlements on the Mississippi.

Genet was thought to have had much to do toward the riots in western Pennsylvania, where the people refused to pay the tax on whisky, and broke into the court rooms. When Washington issued a proclamation warning the mobs to disperse, they did not obey, and fired into the tax collectors; whereupon the president sent a regiment of fifteen hundred troops, and dispersed the rioters. The Republicans claimed that this was an invasion of States' rights, and Genet added to their ill humor by abusive letters to the press against the administration. Washington demanded Genet's removal, and he sailed soon after for France.

Meanwhile John Jay concluded a new treaty with Great Britain. Reparation was pledged for the injuries done to American shipping; the posts of Detroit, Oswego, and Mackinaw were surrendered; the northern boundary line was agreed upon, and a restricted trade with the British West Indies was granted; but the impressment of American sailors was not mentioned. After a bitter debate the Jay treaty was ratified by the Senate. That year, 1795, Thomas Pinckney negotiated a treaty with Spain, by which "a place of deposit" was to be granted within her territory for transshipment of wares, and the south boundary line was fixed at the thirty-first degree of north latitude. Three years later, the part of West Florida thus acquired was organized as the Mississippi Territory.

As the time approached for another presidential elec-

1794
Whisky riots in
Pennsylvania

Genet writes letters
against the
administration;
is removed
from office

1794
The Jay treaty



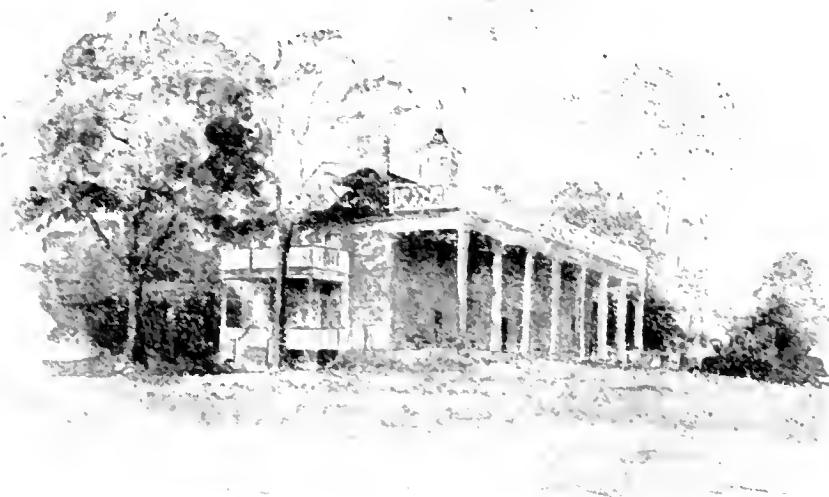
ELECTION OF 1796

1796
Washington's
farewell address
(September)

1797
John Adams
inaugurated the
second president

tion, Washington was urged by his friends to serve yet another term. But he refused with dignity. In his farewell address he warned the people against sectional strife and attacks upon established authority. He pointed out the danger of becoming a tool in the struggle for the balance of power among the rulers of Europe; and for a time faction was silenced. All parties claimed the great man. When he returned to Mount Vernon, he bore with him the respect of the whole nation.

John Adams, the candidate of the Federalists, became president, and Thomas Jefferson, the candidate of the Republicans, vice-president.



MOUNT VERNON

CHAPTER XXVII

JOHN ADAMS (SECOND PRESIDENT, 1797-1801)
FEDERALIST

THE wise policy of Washington in foreign affairs was continued by President Adams. The French Republic had been greatly incensed over the Jay treaty; and when President Adams insisted on remaining neutral, the Directory, consisting of five men who then formed the French government, ordered French men-of-war to assail our commerce on the seas. Commissioners John Marshall and Elbridge Gerry were sent to France to join minister Charles C. Pinckney in the attempt to make a peaceable adjustment of the difficulties.

When the French agents hinted that peace might be secured by the payment of money, Pinckney exclaimed: "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute." The commissioners were then ordered to leave France.

This demand for a bribe was published with the names of the French agents represented by X, Y, and Z. The affairs created the wildest excitement in America. It had already become evident that Napoleon was marching into a throne, and the Republicans were disappointed in their idol. Even Jefferson now declared that in all except commercial relations the United States should remain separate from both England and France.

"Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute," became the watchword of the nation. The French and American flags entwined in the taverns were separated. The French tricolor was torn from the hats, and

1797
The French
Directory assail
American
commerce



JOHN ADAMS
1735-1826

The X, Y, Z letters

1798
Both political
parties favor
neutrality

The government creates the navy department (April)

Washington appointed lieutenant-general of the army

"Hail, Columbia!"

1799
Death of General Washington (December 14)

the black cockade of the Federalists was pinned in its stead. The government prepared for war. It created the navy department, and ordered frigates to be built. When the forty-four-gun frigate *United States* was launched from the docks at Philadelphia, a hundred other lighter craft sported about her. Many were privateers to prey upon French commerce. The American frigate *Constellation* captured the French *Insurgante*, the *Boston* took the *Berceau*, and victory followed victory in the sea.

Washington was appointed lieutenant-general of the provisional army, and Alexander Hamilton first major general. The sons of the revolutionary heroes, from all over the country, offered to enlist in defense of their country's honor; and "Hail, Columbia!" was written, and sung in the streets on muster days.

But while the gathering clans awaited the time when war would be formally declared, and their commander take the field in person, he obeyed a yet higher call than that of his country. On the fourteenth day of December, Washington died, at his home in Mount Vernon, after an illness of only a day. The whole nation was plunged into grief. Touching tributes were offered to his memory. One of the bravest generals declared Washington "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen;" one of the most eloquent orators called him "the greatest of good men, and the best of great men." Lord Byron sang of —

"The first, the last, the best,
The Cincinnatus of the West."

Napoleon, forgetting for a moment the irritation against America, praised her dead hero before his assembled legions.

While the war fever against France lasted, the administration of Adams was popular with the people; but with the president and both houses at their command the Federalists enacted laws which soon brought disaster on their party. To help pay the expenses of the impending war they laid a direct tax on personal property. This caused riots.

A personal tax

They passed new naturalization laws, requiring fourteen years' residence, instead of five. Then, in view of the troubles caused by French and English spies and busybodies, they passed the Alien Act, by which the president was authorized to send foreigners out of the country. The Republicans declared that this did away with the right of trial by jury, and placed too much power with the executive.

1798

A new Naturalization Act
(June 18)The Alien Act
(June 25)

Partisan excitement reached the highest pitch when the Sedition Act was passed. This law punished with fines and imprisonment the publication of any writing calculated to bring Congress or the president "into contempt or disrepute."

The Sedition Act
(July 14)

"The heart and the life of a free government is a free press," said the Republicans. They recalled how outraged their ancestors had been in the House of Commons in the time of King James, when the speaker of the House said he had been "ordered to interrupt any that should speak ill of the king's ministers;" how about a hundred commoners sat silenced with their own passions, how the great Pym himself rose only to sit down choked with tears, and how there was expostulating and prophesying of the ruin of the country when the right of free speech was taken away from the people.

The Republicans
recall the Sedition
law in King
James's time

"And now," cried the Republicans, "more than a hundred years later, the descendants of those freemen who brought a king's head to the block for tyranny are

attempting to exercise his tyrannical power. Was John Adams then to become a king? The next step would be to make him president for life!"

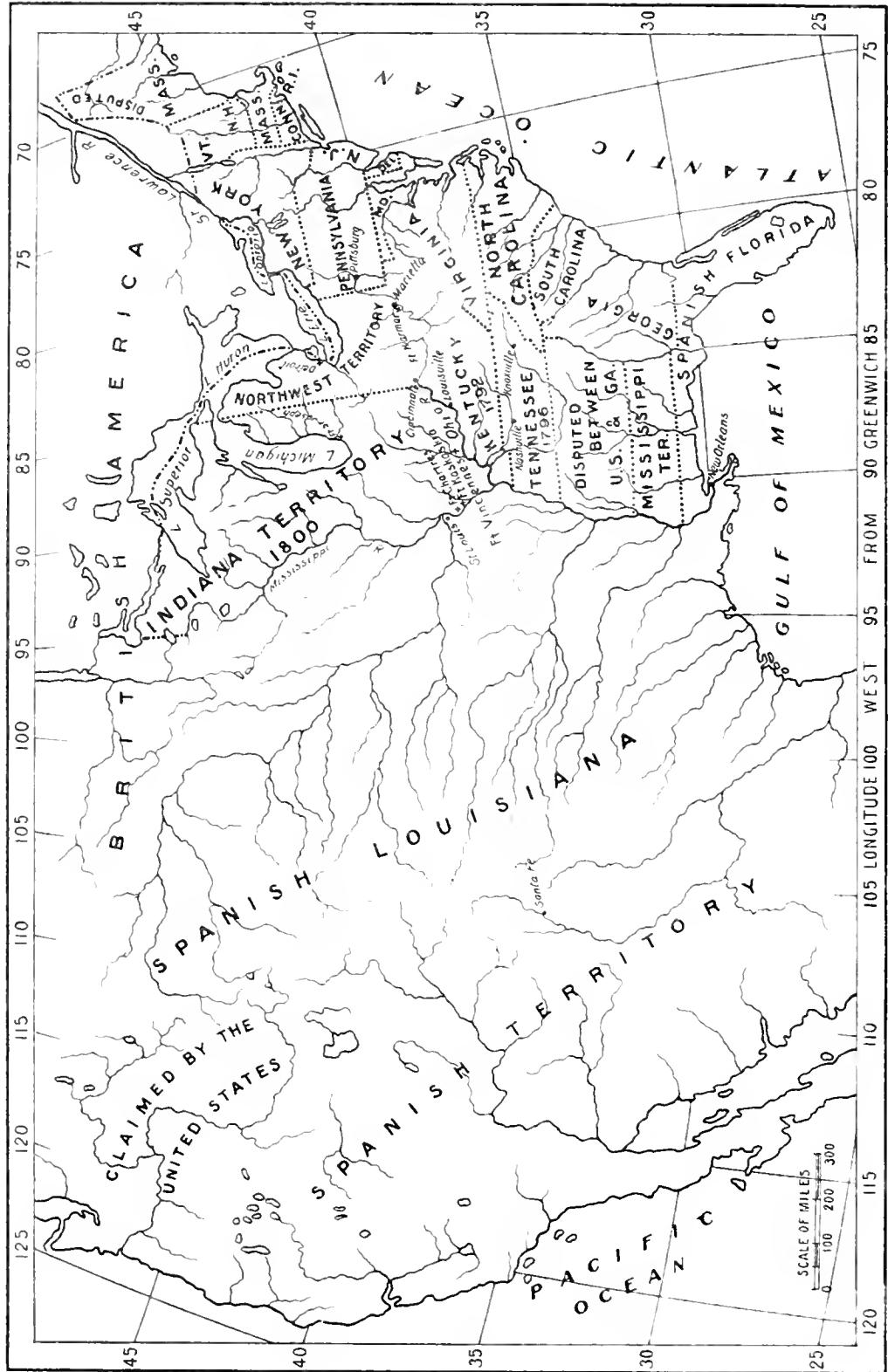
Now, the writers of the Republican pamphlets abused their opportunities most shamefully; but even so stalwart a Federalist as Hamilton opposed the Sedition Law as unwise. The Alien Act was never enforced. On the day arrests were made under the Sedition Act, fines were paid by public subscription. It was said that to be arrested for free speech straightway made a man eligible for office with the Republicans. The unwise laws were soon repealed, but they had already ruined the party that made them. Besides they had emphasized a division of opinion about States' rights. The Republicans in Kentucky and Virginia declared the Alien and Sedition Acts unconstitutional, and Kentucky maintained that when a State decided a law of the United States illegal, she had the right to nullify it. This new theory of nullification caused much trouble later on.

The theory of
nullification

1800-1814
Peace between
France and the
United States
(September)

The "caucus"

When peace between France and the United States was secured by arbitration, the war spirit died away, and with it the last enthusiasm for the Federal party. It had been a great party; but when it attempted to deprive the people of what they considered their reserved constitutional rights, it was overwhelmed with disaster at the polls. A congressional caucus, or meeting, of Republicans chose Thomas Jefferson for president and Aaron Burr for vice-president, and a caucus of Federalists, John Adams and Charles C. Pinckney. When the distinguished list of nominees was submitted to the people, each State chose electors who would vote for its favorites. Jefferson and Burr had the two highest electoral votes. Each receiving the same number, the election, according to the Constitution, devolved on the House of Representatives.



UNITED STATES IN 1800

Most of the Federalists in the House voted for Aaron Burr, which made a tie. For a time it looked as if the day for the inauguration would arrive with no one to be inaugurated. After a long contest, some of the Federalists cast blank votes, and thus Thomas Jefferson, the Republican, who had written the Declaration of Independence, was elected to the place of John Adams, the Federalist, who had seconded the motion that a Declaration of Independence should be written. Aaron Burr became, of course, vice-president; but to prevent future discord, the twelfth amendment¹ was added to the Constitution, providing for separate ballots for president and vice-president.



ELECTION OF 1800

CHAPTER XXVIII

THOMAS JEFFERSON (THIRD PRESIDENT, 1801-1809)

DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN

CESSIONS of land on the Potomac, by Maryland and Virginia, were the beginnings of the District of Columbia. At Washington, the federal capitol, and public forts, arsenals, and dockyards were built. The national domain was placed by the Constitution¹ under the exclusive control of Congress.

Thomas Jefferson was the first president inaugurated

The District of
Columbia and
Washington the
capital city

1801

The inauguration

¹ See Constitution of the United States, Appendix.

Chief Justice
John Marshall

at Washington, then a straggling village in the woods. Attired in plain citizen's dress, the choice of the Democratic-Republicans was received in the Senate chamber by the polished vice-president, Aaron Burr, and sworn into office by Chief Justice John Marshall, of Virginia. In an inaugural message to Congress, Jefferson prophesied the spread and development of the young nation, over which he was called to preside. "I believe this to be the strongest government on earth," he said. But the Federalists, believing that the "Democrat-Republicans" would bring ruin to even the strongest of governments, stood in the background, waiting for the day when the people would again call them to office.

Jefferson's
administration is
popular

Meantime President Jefferson had both houses in full sympathy with his acts. His administration was popular with the masses from the very beginning. He disregarded many rules of etiquette observed by Wash-

ington and Adams. He would not allow his birthday to be known lest it be celebrated "after the fashion of kings," whom he had learned to despise in the courts of Europe. He only opened the White House to the public on New Year's and the Fourth of July. Everybody was welcome then. People who came in carriages and those who came on foot, jostled against one another as they shook the president by the hand.

President Jefferson always remembered the names of his guests. His travels abroad had given him vast information. He was interested in science, and held constant correspondence with the most learned men of Europe.

Congress repealed many of the Federalist laws. It reduced the army and navy, abolished the tax on personal property, and steadily diminished the public debt.

The Democratic-
Republican Congress



THOMAS JEFFERSON
1743-1826

Many things occurred to add glory to Jefferson's administration. The victories of the American navy over the Barbary powers created enthusiasm.

The Barbary powers

Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli were Mohammedan countries, which, since the time of Columbus, had preyed upon the commerce of Christians. To prevent these pirates from seizing cargoes, selling sailors, and holding captains for ransom, the nations of Europe paid tribute; and the United States had already paid nearly two millions of dollars.

When the Dey of Algiers compelled the captain of the *George Washington* to carry dispatches for him, and the American frigate sailed for Constantinople under the flag of the Turks, President Jefferson set the first example among Christian rulers of defying the Barbary powers. He sent a fleet instead of more tribute. When Tripoli began to capture American trading vessels, Lieutenant Decatur boldly entered the harbor of Tripoli, burned an American vessel which had been seized, and bombarded the town from the harbor, while a land expedition attacked it from the east. In the end, the bashaw was willing enough to make peace, and leave tribute out of the bargain.

STEPHEN DECATUR

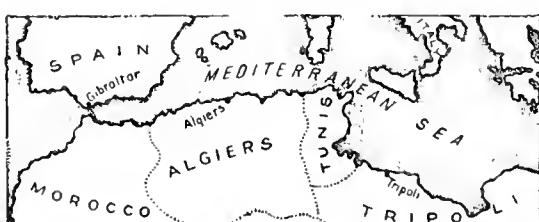
1779-1820

1803

Decatur at Tripoli

1805

The Mediterranean
free for American
commerce



commerce. The Federalists claimed some glory for these victories. They said that if John Adams, the

"Father of the American Navy," had not established the navy department and built the squadrons, there could have been no such

victories over the pirates.

John Adams, the
"Father of the
American Navy"

A wonderful prosperity in home affairs marked the first term of Jefferson's administration. Commerce increased enormously. The powers of Europe were preparing for war with one another, and American farmers furnished the breadstuffs for their standing armies, with wheat at two and three dollars a bushel. Because it was not safe for European merchants to send goods in their own vessels, the neutral vessels of the Americans did most of the carrying trade. French and Spanish merchants in the West Indies brought their wares to American ports where they paid customs and reshipped in American vessels. Import duties came in so fast that the public debt was soon nearly paid off.

The territory of the United States was increased by the purchase of Louisiana.¹ This province west of the Mississippi was, as we have seen, ceded by France to Spain after the French and Indian war. Napoleon, after he became first consul of France, bought it back again, intending to establish a colonial empire there. To further his plans, he wished to secure control of the French lands in the West Indies, which were very profitable. In the island of Santo Domingo² alone, the trade in cotton, sugar, coffee, and indigo employed seventy thousand seamen.

Now, two thirds of the population of Santo Domingo had once been negro slaves. A few years before, the slaves had freed themselves, and overthrown the French rule in a revolution under Toussaint L' Overture. This wonderful negro, after ruling the island as president for a few years, was captured, and taken to France. But the negroes rose in rebellion again. They set up their own government, and, during the war between France and England, opened their ports to neutrals, so that a

The United States
secures the carrying
trade of Europe

1800
Napoleon becomes
first consul

1801
Santo Domingo's
trade

1791
Toussaint
L'Ouverture heads
a revolution

¹ See map of territorial growth.

² Haiti.

brisk trade sprang up between Santo Domingo and the ports of the United States.

Napoleon determined to conquer the Dominicans, and punish the Americans for trading with them. His army was ready to sail to New Orleans as a base of supplies, when war was again threatened between England and France.

The wily French consul knew that, in case of war, he ran the risk of losing Louisiana. He needed money, and it was, perhaps, for this reason that he offered to sell the province to the United States. In 1803 James Monroe and Robert R. Livingston negotiated the purchase for fifteen million dollars.

1803
The Louisiana purchase

In the last month of that year, American troops marched to New Orleans. Spanish troops received them at the gates, and to the national airs of France and America they marched together to the city hall. The French flag was slowly lowered while the stars and stripes were raised on the flagstaff, and Governor Claiborne, in the name of President Jefferson, welcomed the inhabitants as citizens of the United States. New Orleans, with a mixed population of about twenty-five thousand French, Spanish, and Mexicans, was quite different in laws, religion, and language from any other city within the Union.

A Territory was soon organized, comprising about the present boundaries of Louisiana. The remaining portion was called the "District of Louisiana."

Almost nothing was known of the vast new District of Louisiana lying between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains.

Jefferson sent two young men, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, to explore it, with instructions to find the source of the Missouri, to reach the Pacific coast by

1804-1806
Lewis and Clark expedition

the nearest way, and to learn all about the country through which they passed. The two travelers set out on their journey at the trading post of St. Louis.

With toil and privations, they found what seemed to be the source of the Missouri; they crossed the great divide of the Rocky Mountains, and after many perilous hardships, reached the Columbia, which carried them to the sea. They were gone two years, and traveled over eight thousand miles.

1805-1807
The expeditions
of Zebulon Pike

About the same time, Zebulon Pike explored what he wrongly thought to be the sources of the Mississippi; and then, in another expedition, crossed Kansas, pushed up the Arkansas, and scaled the mountain called Pike's Peak. In a search for the Red River, Pike found the Rio Grande, was taken prisoner by the Spaniards, and carried to Santa Fé. He finally reached the United States through Mexico and Texas.

Although these explorers brought back much information about high mountains and broad rivers, they called the country beyond the Mississippi the "Great American Desert."

"The Great
American Desert"

A geographer of the day said: "It has been supposed that all settlers who go beyond the Mississippi will be forever lost to the United States." In the minds of the schoolboys, the region was like the Sahara of Africa; and their fathers thought it was wisely ordered that a desert lay beyond the great river. "If it were fertile there," they said, "our citizens would wander too far. Our Republic would soon be divided." To us these ideas seem very strange. The noble States of Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, Wyoming, Montana, and the Dakotas lie exactly in the "Great American Desert."

Indeed, at that very time the population was moving

toward this "desert." The Federal government had divided the Northwest Territory, and from a part of it Ohio had been cut out, and admitted to the Union as the seventeenth State. The rest of the Northwest was made the Territory of Indiana, with General William Henry Harrison as governor. About the same time Mississippi Territory was enlarged by cession of western land from Georgia.

1802

Ohio becomes
a StateGeorgia cedes her
western territory

The first administration of President Jefferson was so popular that he was re-elected president for a second term. Aaron Burr was thought to have schemed with the Federalists for his own advancement, and, in his place, George Clinton of New York was elected vice-president by the Democratic-Republicans.

1804

Jefferson re-elected

CHAPTER XXIX

THOMAS JEFFERSON (1801-1809) (CONTINUED)

DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN

AARON BURR was defeated for the governorship of New York, and this was largely due to the influence of Alexander Hamilton. Burr challenged Hamilton, and killed him in a duel. There was grievous mourning for the brilliant statesman. Federalists wore black thirty days for the most intimate friend of Washington and the great constructive genius of the young Republic. The years have rather increased than diminished the fame of Alexander Hamilton, the first secretary of the treasury. More than a quarter of a century after his death, Daniel Webster said: "He smote the rock of national resources and abundant streams of revenue gushed forth. He

Alexander Hamilton
and Aaron Burr

touched the dead corpse of public credit, and it sprang upon its feet."

A coroner's jury found Burr guilty of murder. The imbibited man fled from New York to the West. His genius was great. The conquest of Texas, which then belonged to Spain, and its union with the States and Territories west of the Alleghanies to form an empire, seemed a dazzling possibility. Men were armed, boats built, and messengers employed to further the plan.

President Jefferson heard rumors that the West was slipping from the United States. He sent officers to arrest Aaron Burr, and ordered him to be tried for treason in the House of Burgesses at Richmond, Va.

The best legal talent in the country was gathered in the Southern city: John Randolph, of Virginia, noted already in Congress for his stinging sarcasm and scholarly eloquence; Henry Clay, the young senator from Kentucky, famous in debate; Andrew Jackson, the hero of the Tennessee law courts; William Wirt, of the Richmond bar, and many other distinguished lawyers argued the case. Chief Justice John Marshall presided at the trial. There was not sufficient evidence to convict Burr of treason. But the slayer of Alexander Hamilton wandered in foreign lands, and, many years after, returned to New York to die in poverty and neglect.

It had been the policy of both Washington and Adams to build up a navy to protect American commerce. Jefferson considered a navy a useless expense. He thought it would be better to give up commerce altogether than be obliged to protect it, and sold all the government's ships but thirteen. At the beginning of his second administration events occurred which put our merchant marine in danger.

American ships, as neutrals, had been kept busy

Burr's ambitious
journey in the West

1807

Burr tried for
treason at Richmond

Jefferson discourages
the increase of
the navy

carrying for foreign merchants, and both France and England were angered at this immense commerce, which our small navy could not protect.

Both decided to plunder American vessels if the United States would not form an alliance. If they would be a foe to neither, they should be a friend to neither. Each nation finally issued decrees forbidding neutral vessels to enter the ports of the other or her allies. Great Britain continued to claim the right to board a ship belonging to any nation, and impress sailors as British subjects. "Once a subject, always a subject," was the motto of Great Britain. Many American sailors were impressed, and compelled to fight France. Sometimes a whole crew was taken, and the vessel left to float away.

Between impressment and confiscation of neutral vessels, a great change came to American commerce. Merchants sent off ships which did not come back. It was evident that America must soon make a struggle for its place on the sea, where European nations had battled for centuries.

Congress passed the Non-importation Act, prohibiting the importation of a few articles of British make which might be manufactured in America. This did not mend matters. British officers missed no opportunity to insult our flag. When, at last, the frigate *Chesapeake*, fired into by the British *Leopard*, came into Norfolk harbor with her dead, there was the greatest uproar.

Jefferson wrote: "This country has never been in such excitement since the battle of Lexington." Merchants and business men all over the country demanded a navy to measure arms with our foes. Jefferson did not believe a navy could be built powerful enough to defeat the British on the sea. He said it would be

1807

England and France
restrict trade
of neutrals

Impressment of
American sailors

1806

The Non-importa-
tion Act

1807

The *Leopard* fires
into the *Chesapeake*

1807

The Embargo Act

cheaper to put a stop to American commerce, and thus injure British trade. And so an Embargo Act was passed, forbidding American vessels to leave port for a foreign country.

This saved our flag from being insulted in such a way as to involve the nation in war, but it ruined our commerce. "It is like cutting off the toes to cure the corns," said the sarcastic John Randolph, of Roanoke. Napoleon was pleased at the embargo, because it injured the trade of Great Britain, while that nation declared that she did not need American trade, and sent cotton seed to Africa to raise her own cotton, and set her subjects in the West Indies to planting her own corn.

The Americans alone really suffered from the Embargo Act. For years their ports had been busy. The wharves had been strewn with merchandise; and merchants and brokers had driven trade from morning till night. But now there was neither shipbuilding, nor rope walks, nor sail making. Thirty thousand seamen of New England were out of employment, and millions of dollars were lost in the embargoed wares.

1808

Riots over the
Embargo Act

There were riots on the first anniversary of the act, which had to be put down by the militia. There was even talk among the Federalists of seceding from the Union, and forming the Confederacy of New England.

1809

The Non-intercourse
Act

The feeling against the Embargo Act was so strong that the following year the Non-intercourse Act was passed as a substitute. This forbade trade with France and Great Britain until they would cease their offensive attitude, but allowed trade with countries not under their control.

The Embargo Act did not injure Jefferson with his own party. He was urged to accept the nomination for a third term; but the "Great Commoner" followed the

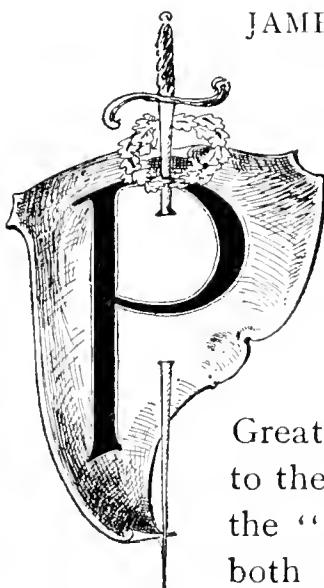
footsteps of Washington. He bade farewell to ambition, and retired to Monticello, to live among his books and his friends.

Three days after the Non-intercourse Bill had been signed by Jefferson, James Madison, of Virginia, was inaugurated president. James Madison
inaugurated
(March 4)

CHAPTER XXX

JAMES MADISON (FOURTH PRESIDENT, 1809-1817)

DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN



RESIDENT MADISON, who had been secretary of state under Jefferson, continued the policy of the Democratic-Republican party, and had the support of Congress. When neither Great Britain nor France paid the least heed to the Non-Intercourse Act, Congress passed the "Macon Bill," which restored trade with both nations, but declared that if only one nation would repeal its laws against American commerce, non-intercourse should be proclaimed with the other.

Napoleon pretended that he would revoke his decrees, and commerce began again between France and the United States. But a whole American fleet, valued at more than ten million dollars, was soon seized in French ports. Many years later France was forced to pay an indemnity for this loss. Great Britain refused to repeal her decree, trade ceased, and our minister was recalled from London. Our relations with Great Britain became

Madison continues
the policy of the
Democratic-
Republicans

1810

The "Macon Bill"
passed
(May 1)

Napoleon's
bad faith

more and more strained, until she seized American merchantmen without any excuse whatever.

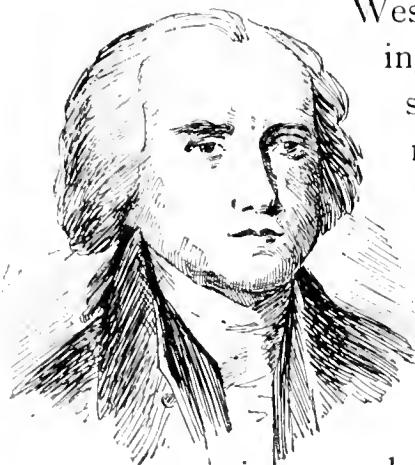
Meantime our frontiers were attacked by the Indians. Although William Henry Harrison, governor of the Territory of Indiana, had been careful to purchase the Western lands, the Indians declared that no signing of a paper could cancel their right to the soil. They could not understand why they might not strip bark to build wigwams, or fashion canoes from timber on the lands they had sold.

At last they found a leader in Tecumseh, chief of the Shawnees, who said he would finish the work that Pontiac had only begun. Urged on by the British of Canada, he established headquarters on Tippecanoe Creek, near the present town of Lafayette, Ind., and plotted how best to unite all the Indian confederacies.

While Tecumseh was in the South stirring up the Appalachian tribes for his bloody work, Harrison advanced upon Tippecanoe, and defeated the Indians in a terrible battle. When Tecumseh returned, and found his village in ruins, he hastened beyond the St. Lawrence to join his forces with the British.

That same year the twelfth Congress met to decide whether there should be war with England. Something had to be done. The British sloops of war were parading up and down the coast like great Goliaths, defying the little American navy to come out and fight them. There were many young men in Congress who could not endure the insults of the British. Among them were Henry Clay, of Kentucky, and John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina. These brilliant young orators said peaceable means had been resorted to, and arbitration

War with
the Miamis



JAMES MADISON
1751-1836

1811

Battle of Tippecanoe

The Twelfth Congress
a war congress

Henry Clay and
John C. Calhoun

was out of the question. The impetuous Clay was made speaker of the House, and organized committees which would take radical measures for either peace or war.

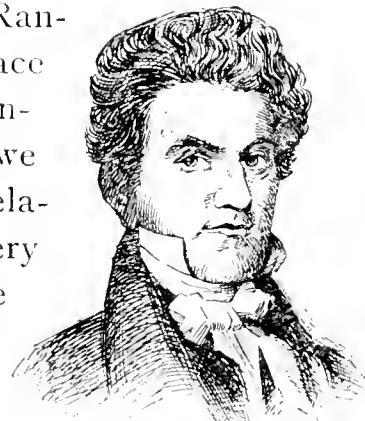
In New England, where commerce was almost the sole occupation of the people, war was bitterly opposed. Many of the older statesmen, with John Randolph, of Virginia, as their leader, urged peace with Great Britain. When upbraided with anglomania, Randolph cried: "Strange that we Americans find no difficulty in maintaining relations of peace with Turks and infidels of every clime and color! With them we can trade and treat; but name England, and we are up in arms against her; against those whose blood runs in our veins; in common with whom we claim Shakespeare, Milton, Newton, and Locke as brethren. Her form of government is the freest on earth except our own, and from it every principle of our institutions has been borrowed."

President Madison wanted peace. But Harrison's campaign against the Indians in the West had aroused the war spirit, and there was fresh resentment toward the British when Tecumseh and his warriors were received in Canada. After a long and exciting debate, Congress declared for war with Great Britain on the grounds that she had interfered with American commerce, impressed American sailors, and incited the Indians on the frontiers to massacre American settlers.

President Madison issued a proclamation of war. There were armies to recruit, ships of the navy to build and commission, and merchantmen to license to arm themselves. Congress saw the need of a military school, and made an appropriation for the Academy at West Point, which had been established on the Hudson.

Henry Clay, speaker
of the House of
Representatives

John Randolph
opposes a war with
Great Britain



JOHN C. CALHOUN
1782-1850

Causes of the War
of 1812

1812

Madison declares
war against Great
Britain June 18

Land forces

Defeat in the Northwest

Naval forces

The *Essex* captures the *Alert* (August 13)

The *Constitution* sinks the *Guerrière* (August 19)

The *Wasp* captures the *Frolic* (October 17)

The *United States*, the *Macedonian* (October 25)

The "wooden walls of Columbia" victorious everywhere

At the opening of hostilities, affairs on land looked very gloomy, indeed; General William Hull, who began an invasion of Canada, was compelled at Detroit to surrender his army of two thousand men, with all the forts and garrisons in the Northwest. General Van Rensselaer crossed the Niagara River, but was defeated at Queenstown, and General Dearborn, who had expected to meet the victorious armies of Hull and Van Rensselaer at Montreal, halted on the northern boundaries of New York.



The land forces had accomplished nothing at the close of the year.

There were victories on the sea, however, from the very beginning. Our whaling and sealing industries had produced good sailors, and American merchantmen were manned by intelligent and patriotic tars who sought revenge for years of insults on the sea.

In August, Captain Porter, on the *Essex*, captured the British sloop *Alert*. Six days later Captain Isaac Hull, on the *Constitution*, which was soon to win the name of "Old Ironsides," sunk the *Guerrière* off the coast of Massachusetts. Then the *Wasp* captured the British *Frolic*. And while a naval ball at Washington was celebrating these victories, Stephen Decatur's messenger from the frigate *United States* hurried into the hall bearing the ensign of the British *Macedonian*; and there were cheers for the "wooden walls of Columbia," as the trophy was hung with the other captured flags.

Great Britain was astounded. Her newspapers would hardly credit the news. "Could the 'mistress of the seas' be defeated by a piece of bunting flying at the masthead of a few fir-built frigates, manned by a hand-

ful of outlaws?" One paper, after the capture of the *Java* by the *Constitution*, exclaimed: "Five hundred British vessels and three frigates have been captured in seven months by the Americans. Can the English people hear this unmoved? Down to this moment not an American frigate has struck her flag. They insult and laugh at us; they leave their posts when they please, and return when it suits their convenience; they traverse the Atlantic; they beset the West India Islands; they advance to the very chops of the channel; they parade along the coasts of South America; nothing chases, nothing intercepts, nothing engages them but yields to them a triumph." All this was pleasant reading for the Americans.

A few months later, the *Chesapeake* was attacked by the British frigate *Shannon* near Boston. As brave Captain Lawrence, mortally wounded, was carried below, he cried: "Don't give up the ship!" The *Chesapeake* was captured; but the rejoicing in England over this victory showed more plainly than anything else how the British were learning to fear the American navy. They now sent over all their available ships to strengthen the blockade of our coast.

Congress voted to build more vessels.

There was new courage in the army. Henry Clay, who had so eagerly advocated the war, went from town to town throughout the West, urging recruits, until fifteen thousand men volunteered and ten thousand more enrolled. William Henry Harrison, the hero of Tippecanoe, was given command of the army in the Northwest. A detachment of Harrison's army was defeated on the River Raisin; a force of British and Indians laid siege to the remainder in Fort Meigs, but were driven away by re-enforcements. Yet it began to

The *Constitution*
takes the *Java*
(December 29)

1813

The *Chesapeake*
strikes her colors to
the British *Shannon*
(June 1)

Congress votes to
build more ships

William Henry
Harrison in
command of the
army in the
Northwest

look as if the country north of the Ohio would again belong to the British.

The only hope seemed to lie in the navy. Lake Erie was the key to the West. Nine small American vessels, which had been built from the forests along the shores of the lake, launched forth to meet a British squadron near Sandusky, Ohio. Oliver Hazard Perry, of Rhode Island, on the flagship *Lawrence*, met two of the largest

British men-of-war. At the mast of Perry's ship floated a blue pennon with the dying words of Lawrence, "Don't give up the ship!" The sailors fought until only Perry and eight comrades were left. These jumped into a boat with their watchwords waving defiance, rowed through shot and shell to the *Niagara*, and hoisting the flag, captured the whole British fleet.¹

Perry's dispatch to General Harrison read: "We have met the enemy, and they are ours, — two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop!"

On Perry's ships, Harrison hurried to Canada, and defeated the British on the Thames River. Tecumseh was slain; the Indians deserted the British. Perry had control of Lake Erie, and Harrison stood on the threshold of Canada. In the West, the victory was complete.

In the North Jacob Brown and Winfield Scott won two bloody battles at Chippewa and Lundy's Lane; but they could not advance any farther, and returned to New York.

In the South, the British and Spaniards had been inciting the Creeks against the American settlements. When an earthquake shook the ground beneath their

1813
Perry's victory
on Lake Erie
(September 10)



OLIVER H. PERRY
1785-1819

The battle on the
Thames (October 1)

1814
Chippewa (July 5)
Lundy's Lane
(July 25)

War with the
Creeks

¹ Read Roosevelt's "Naval War of 1812."

feet, or a comet sped across the sky, the Creeks said Tecumseh's ghost could not slumber till they had gone on the warpath to the Americans. The warriors spread fire and death on the southwestern frontier until Andrew Jackson, with his Tennessee troops, forced them to sue for peace.

Jackson makes
peace with the
Indians

By this time, the allied powers of Europe had conquered Napoleon. The government of Great Britain was free to devote its entire attention to the United States. The sea grew white with sails; our coast was blockaded. Sixty men-of-war, with a large land force on board, cast anchor in Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries.

The British fleet in
Chesapeake Bay

Before the American troops could be collected to meet them, the British landed and a detachment marched to Washington. President Madison, his cabinet, and the citizens fled from the capital.¹ The public buildings were burned, and then the British infantry were conveyed farther up the Chesapeake. They landed, and advanced toward Baltimore, while the naval force bombarded Fort Mc Henry, two miles below the city. In

Burning of
Washington
(August 24)

In the midst of the roar of cannon, Francis Scott Key, an American prisoner on board a British ship, wrote the "Star-spangled Banner," which afterward became a national hymn. The British soon abandoned the siege of Baltimore, and sailed to Halifax.

"The Star-
spangled Banner"



FRANCIS SCOTT KEY
1780-1843

The people of New England now demanded peace at any price. There had been no commerce for more than two years, and even the fishing trade was



¹ Read "Memoirs of Dolly Madison."

The Hartford convention

1814

The treaty of Ghent
(December 24)

ruined. A convention, held at Hartford with closed doors, demanded, among other things, that the States of New England might collect the revenues at their ports, in order to defend their commerce better than the general government seemed able to do.

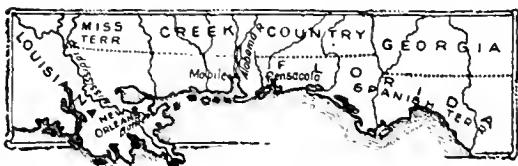
At that very time a treaty of peace was being negotiated at Ghent between the American and British commissioners; but there was no way to announce the fact, and so the war continued. An Atlantic cable would have saved many lives.

The British began to concentrate a force of twenty thousand soldiers and sailors around New Orleans with the intention of making it the base of supplies. An army of twelve thousand men, under Sir Edward

Pakenham, landed near the city in December. These veterans from the battlefields of Europe faced huge breastworks thrown up by Andrew Jackson and his

backwoods volunteers. A motley crowd of Tennesseans, Kentuckians, Indians, free negroes, and Spanish creoles waited behind the intrenchments. There were several skirmishes, and on the eighth of January, in an engagement of less than half an hour, nearly two thousand British were killed, wounded, and missing. General Pakenham was among the slain. The British withdrew to their camp and soon sailed away.

Jackson re-entered the city with his men, only eight of whom had been killed. He was met by the delighted people with flowers and shouts of joy, and a *Te Deum* was chanted in the cathedral. When messengers reached Washington with news of the victory at New Orleans, there were bonfires and wild huzzahs. In the midst of the rejoicing, tidings came of the treaty of peace. Then,



1815

The battle of New Orleans (January 8)

President Madison hears of the victory
(February)

indeed, there was rejoicing everywhere; flags were run up on the staffs of the idle ships, troops fired salutes, and long lines of sleighs drove through the streets of the cities with "Peace" on the hatbands of the drivers.

Although the treaty of Ghent did not secure concessions from Great Britain, the War of 1812 accomplished much for the United States. It made Europe respect us, and taught us to respect ourselves, and prize more than ever the federal union. Only rest and time were needed to gather the forces of the nation together again. A vast surplus of agricultural products lay waiting to seek a foreign market. To protect the masts of the merchantmen as they lay for years in the harbor, tar barrels had been put over the top of each. These barrels were called "Madison's nightcaps" and, now that peace had come, thousands were down at the wharves to see Madison's night caps lifted as the ships sailed away in the dawn of prosperity.

The public debt amounted to over a hundred million dollars, and it did not seem possible that such a large sum could ever be paid. Yet Alexander Dallas, secretary of the treasury, came forward, like a second Hamilton, to rescue the country from bankruptcy. A national bank was chartered for twenty years, and located at Philadelphia to take the place of the one whose charter had come to an end five years before; tariffs were increased, direct taxes were levied, and other financial measures taken to relieve the indebtedness.

When the administration of James Madison drew to a close, there was really but one party. The Federalist leaders, who had opposed the war, had very few followers, and James Monroe, of Virginia, secretary of state, was elected the fifth president by the Democratic-Republicans.

"Madison's
nightcaps"

The public debt

1816

The second national
bank charter

James Monroe
elected the fifth
president

CHAPTER XXXI

JAMES MONROE (FIFTH PRESIDENT, 1817-1825)

DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN

The "era of
good feeling"



JAMES MONROE
1757-1831

National charac-
teristics

Development of the
United States

New England

JAMES MONROE inaugurated the "era of good feeling." When the president made a tour through New England, the old stronghold of Federalism, Federalists united with Democratic-Republicans to greet him. Children bore garlands of red and white roses before the president in token that party feuds were over, and flags and relics of the Revolution were brought out for display. President Monroe, who had fought with Washington, seemed to realize the return of the spirit of '76; for he wore the almost forgotten cocked hat, blue coat, buff vest, long hose, and short clothes of an officer of the Revolution, and wherever he went, he made friends.

By this time the Americans had changed greatly from the ruddy, placid English of colonial times. They were restless and nervous, and more slender than the British cousins who had come to give them battle.

In New England, where the Anglo-Saxon type was purest, a nasal tone had crept into the voice; fortunately, however, the "h's" had not kept pace with the mother country.

Boston was still the largest city, but the New England villages had increased in number and size. Each had its meeting house, green common, and streets, lined with elms, stretching out between stone fences into farm lands. There were common schools in every hamlet, and the colleges of Harvard and Yale were famous even in Europe.

In the Middle States there was a mixed population of Germans, Dutch, Irish, Swiss, French, Swedes, Scotch, and English. The thrifty, industrious citizens owned farms lying close together, and voted and thought much alike. New York City was a commercial center, and, though Philadelphia was in advance in the arts and sciences, New York boasted of Columbia College.

In the Southern States, the hospitable mansions were surrounded by vast plantations. The daughters of the rich were educated at home by a governess, and the sons who did not go to the William and Mary College generally went abroad to study.

High-bred, generous, and extravagant, the planters cultivated social graces, and were such leaders in the politics of the country that Virginia had earned the name of "Mother of Presidents." The "poor whites" still lived apart, loafing and quarreling, and the negro toiled in the fields of tobacco, cotton, and rice.

These original thirteen colonies were much the same as when we studied them last, except that the Puritan was less stern and the cavalier less haughty; and a feeling of brotherhood had developed since the Revolution.

A marvelous change, however, had taken place beyond the mountains. The cotton States had sent many settlers to the Mississippi Territory; when Georgia ceded her western lands to the government, they were added to that Territory. A few years later Louisiana was admitted into the Union as the eighteenth State.

The immigration to the Northwest had been so great that the Territory of Michigan, and then that of Illinois, comprising Minnesota east of the Mississippi, Wisconsin, and Illinois, were organized from the Territory of Indiana, and Indiana was admitted into the Union.

The War of 1812 stimulated immigration from Europe.

Increased
immigration from
Europe

When the British troops returned home, they had wonderful stories to tell of the opportunities in America for a man to become a freeholder. Farmers, mechanics, carpenters, weavers, masons, and blacksmiths turned their faces toward America.

The demand for passage increased until rates were so high that only the well-to-do could afford to sail. Emigration became such a craze that sometimes a whole village with their curate embarked together.

In one week fifteen hundred foreigners landed at American ports. They were largely from Great Britain, but many were from France, and a few were from Germany and Switzerland. Some could not get work, and returned home; but the most of the immigrants remained to help clear forests, dig canals, sow vast prairies in the West to grain, and build up new enterprises everywhere.

American
manufactories

The war taught the Americans that they could have their own manufactories. When they saw raw materials lying idle at the wharves, they began to wonder why they could not be manufactured at home. To encourage manufactures, prizes were offered in different States for knives and forks and the best-woven cloth. People began to wear homespun. A troop of cavalry appeared in white Virginia cloth.

Several legislatures fixed the date on which members should appear in clothes of home manufacture. Of course there were some people who opposed this enthusiasm for home products. When Henry Clay moved in the Kentucky legislature that the members dress in homespun, a rival said he was only doing so to get votes, and this brought on a duel, in which both men were wounded. But the agitation about home manufactures aroused interest everywhere.

A strong feeling grew up that the struggling industries

should be protected from foreign competition ; and when it was proposed to lay a protective tariff on some foreign goods, very few objected to it. New England objected the most to a tariff, because, at that time, she had few manufactories ; her greatest profits were in shipping goods from foreign ports to sell in the United States.

The cotton States wished the domestic manufacture of cotton encouraged. It was a risk to send cotton on the seas, where war was so often waged between the European powers. The planters thought they might teach manufacturing to their slaves. They said it would be a fine thing to gather the white down from the fields, and spin it into cloth on the same plantation. And so a protective tariff was laid by Congress on certain foreign wares.

Now each State on the coast had something which might be sold in the Western States. But many things needed in the West could be brought cheaper from Europe by way of the Mississippi than carried overland from the Eastern States, because of the bad roads.

During the administration of Thomas Jefferson, Robert Fulton had perfected a steamboat which made transportation by water very much cheaper and quicker. He called his boat the *Clermont*. Steamboats, fashioned after the *Clermont*, soon carried the products of the farms in the West down the Ohio and the Mississippi to New Orleans to be exchanged for the merchandise of Europe and the West Indies. These same steamboats were transporting immigrants to the West so rapidly that, before the people on the coast had recovered from their surprise that Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Louisiana, and Indiana had been admitted to the Union, Mississippi, Illinois, and Alabama were admitted. It was plain that, if the wall

1816

A protective tariff
for home industries

1807

Robert Fulton and
the *Clermont*



ROBERT FULTON
1765-1815

The admission of
Mississippi (1817),
Illinois (1818), and
Alabama (1819)

1806
An appropriation
for the national
turnpike road

1822
Monroe vetoes a bill
for internal
improvements

1817
War with the
Seminoles

Andrew Jackson
seizes forts in
West Florida

of the Alleghanies continued to be a barrier to trade, the great growing West, with the Mississippi for a highway, and New Orleans for a seaport, would soon be not only commercially, but politically independent of the East.

During the administration of Jefferson, Baltimore and Philadelphia had urged the National Pike, or Cumberland Road, between Cumberland in Maryland and Wheeling in West Virginia. Congress appropriated several thousand dollars, received from the sale of lands in Ohio, to build the road. It became a magnificent turnpike; its arches spanned rivers and ravines, and its smooth surface invited trade.

Soon all the States were asking for government funds to improve their highways. When President Monroe vetoed an appropriation bill for improving the Cumberland Road, because he thought the Constitution did not intend internal improvement at federal expense, the States took up the matter of public roads for themselves. Many turnpikes were built to be paid for by toll, collected at gates. These roads, by increasing interstate commerce, helped to strengthen the Union.

Meanwhile the Creek and Seminole Indians, in West Florida, became hostile. Andrew Jackson, the "big knife" of Tennessee, marched into West Florida, and subdued them with a thousand riflemen. West Florida had long been the nest of pirates and desperadoes, who terrorized our Southern border. Determined to protect the frontier, if Spain would not, Jackson seized St. Marks and Pensacola, placed garrisons there, and hanged two English spies. His vigorous measures might have brought on war with Spain and England. Resolutions, offered in Congress, to censure him were defeated by a large majority; but the American garrisons were removed from the forts.

Spain saw very well that it would be impossible to keep the Floridas,¹ and sold them that same year to the United States for five million dollars. East and West Florida were organized as one province, with Andrew Jackson as territorial governor. The acquisition assured control of the Seminole Indians, and, by giving command of the Gulf of Mexico, protected the Mississippi from foreign powers.

Meantime the Canadian boundary was agreed upon with England.² The division was declared to be a line extending south from the northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods to the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude and along that parallel to the ridge of the Rocky Mountains; and it was further agreed that for ten years the United States and England should hold joint occupation of Oregon.

1819

The purchase of
the Floridas
from Spain

1818

The Canadian
boundary line along
the forty-ninth
parallel

CHAPTER XXXII

JAMES MONROE (1817-1825) (CONTINUED)

DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN

THE administration of President Monroe was in such high favor that he was re-elected with only one vote against him, and that is said to have been cast in order that Washington might still stand in history as the only president who received a unanimous vote. But even before his re-election trouble was brewing in President Monroe's "happy family."

James Monroe
re-elected president

¹ See map of territorial growth.

² See map of territorial growth.

Maine and Missouri,
candidates for
admission to
the Union

Shall slavery be
allowed in the
territory purchased
from France?

Maine, which had been a part of Massachusetts since early colonial times, separated from that State, and asked to be admitted into the Union. There could be no question about her right to be there. But just at the same time Missouri, from beyond the Mississippi, asked admission.

Now, as we have seen, slavery was forever prohibited from the territory north of the Ohio, by an act of the Continental Congress. Should slavery also be excluded from the territory west of the Mississippi? Missouri asked to be admitted as a slave State, and Congress requested her to stand on the threshold of the Capitol while her credentials were examined. This made her friends, the slaveholding States, very angry; and they refused to admit Maine without Missouri. All the thirteen colonies once held slaves, but the Northern and Middle States employed them largely about the house, and they had become less and less in demand until there were very few north of Virginia and Maryland. The Southern States, however, on account of the cotton gin, which made the production of cotton so profitable, had increased their number of slaves.

The States formed from the Northwest Territory were free under the provisions of the Ordinance of 1787. But when the first emigrants from the South moved into Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi, they took their slaves with them, and these States lying south of the Ohio River entered the Union as slave States. Louisiana had been a slave State under Spanish rule, and was admitted as such.

Thus it came about that when Maine and Missouri asked admittance to the Union, there were eleven free and eleven slave States. The North claimed that while Congress had no authority on the slavery question in the

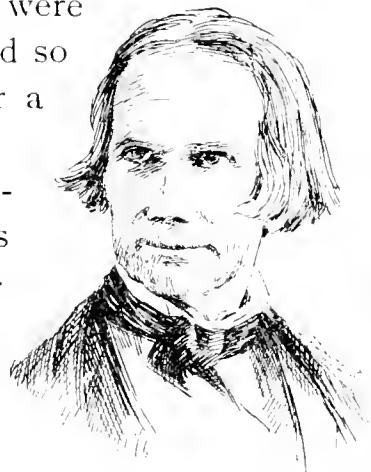
States already organized at the time of the federal union, it had full powers in a Territory, and might admit it free; the South claimed that a Territory had the right to decide for itself whether it should be a free or a slave State.

At length, Henry Clay succeeded in passing the Missouri Compromise bill, admitting Missouri as a slave State, but prohibiting slavery in the rest of the Louisiana Purchase north of parallel 36° 30', or the western extension of the southern boundary line of Missouri. Meanwhile Maine had been admitted. There were just twelve slave and twelve free States. And so the dispute about slavery was put to rest for a time.

Now, one reason that Spain consented so easily to sell the Floridas to the United States was the trouble she was having with her colonies. While Spain was busy at war with France, the Spanish colonies of Mexico and South America which had been developing since the time of Columbus, plunged into revolutions. They set up republics, and President Monroe acknowledged their governments. The Spanish colonies were still in open rebellion when Russia, Prussia, and Austria united in a "Holy Alliance" to maintain despotism in Europe. The kingdoms of Europe had been unstable since the American and French revolutions. The French republic had fallen, and a Bourbon was seated on the throne again; but the republic of the United States was firmly established. Her example was bad enough, and if the Mexicans and South Americans prospered as republics, there was no knowing what effect it might have on the people of Europe.

It was believed in the United States that if Spain

1820
The Missouri
Compromise
1821
Missouri admitted
into the Union
1820
Maine admitted



HENRY CLAY
1777-1852

1822
President Monroe
acknowledges the
independence of the
Spanish colonies of
South America

1815
The "Holy
Alliance"

could not subdue her American provinces, the Holy Alliance had pledged to send over armies to assist her. President Monroe determined to prevent this, and to take a firm stand against the colonization of European governments in the two Americas. The emperor of Russia had already planted one colony in California, and if such colonization were allowed to continue, the United States might be hemmed in from the Pacific Ocean.

Monroe was well acquainted with European affairs. He consulted Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, and James Madison, all famous diplomats. He talked with William Wirt, the attorney-general, and John Quincy Adams, the secretary of state. Then he wrote a message to Congress which all Europe would read, and which has become famous as the "Monroe Doctrine." He said the United States were resolved not to meddle with the affairs of the nations of Europe, and that we would consider an attempt on the part of those nations to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety; and that the two American continents, by the free and independent condition which they had assumed and maintained, should henceforth not be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.

Monroe's remonstrance had its effect. Great Britain supported the policy of the United States for reasons of her own. The allied powers did not interfere in South American affairs, and the following year Russia agreed not to colonize south of $54^{\circ} 40'$.

The attitude of the United States at this time was consistent. While demanding that Europe should not interfere with American affairs, our government refused to meddle with the balance of power in Europe. And

1823
"The Monroe
Doctrine"

England supports
the doctrine

The policy of the
United States
is consistent

when Greece was struggling with Turkey for freedom, Congress voted down the resolutions to recognize her independence, in spite of the eloquent appeals in her behalf by Daniel Webster and Henry Clay.

During Monroe's administration, the White House was repaired, and the Capitol at Washington rebuilt. Handsome chambers were set apart for the Senate, the House of Representatives, and the Supreme Court.

The upper house of Congress was always increasing with the admission of new States; the lower house was becoming larger with the growth of population, and its members were always changing to suit the views of the people. The number of justices had increased to seven. On the supreme bench sat Chief Justice Marshall, the "expounder of the Constitution," and his associates, in long black silk gowns, while such famous lawyers as Thomas Pinckney, William Wirt, Henry Clay, and Daniel Webster argued questions of national law before them.

Pensions granted by Congress to survivors of the Revolutionary war revived thoughts of the war of Independence. Trumbull's painting of the Declaration of Independence, exhibited in the different cities, increased the reverence for the founders of our Republic, and the arrival of General Lafayette aroused the spirit of patriotism to the highest pitch.

The "boy" of the Revolution was now almost seventy years old, and still limping a little from the wound, it was said, which he had received at Brandywine. The distinguished nobleman was moved to tears when he saw in the United States the fulfilment of his hopes. He had seen the republic of France established only to be betrayed by the ambition of Napoleon. But he had seen Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and Madison.

The departments
of the government

1818

Pensions for the
veterans of the
Revolution

1824

General Lafayette
visits America

son preside with dignity at the head of a republic, and step down among the ranks of the people to cast votes for other candidates.

Even as he rolled along the turnpike road in a carriage with the president, he was astonished to see him pay toll like any common citizen. And when he sailed up the Mississippi and the Ohio, and saw the cities along their banks teeming with prosperous and contented people, his admiration knew no bounds.

1825

Laying the corner-stone of the Bunker Hill monument



John Quincy Adams
and Andrew Jackson
receive an equal
number of electoral
votes

Lafayette laid the corner-stone of the national monument at Bunker Hill, where the sons of the Puritans and the Cavaliers gathered to do honor to those who had fallen for liberty, and when he returned to France, it was in the good ship *Brandywine*. The hospitality extended to this guest of the nation had been so generous that a new word was coined, and whenever unusual honors were paid to a person, he was said to have been "Lafayetted."

Meantime the national elections had taken place. There had been many candidates. New England

nominated John Quincy Adams; the South, John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina; the West brought forward two favorites, Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, and Henry Clay, of Kentucky; and a caucus of Congressmen at Washington, which was the old method of nomination, named William H. Crawford, of Georgia. At the election Adams and Jackson received an equal number of electoral votes, with Crawford third in the list.

According to the twelfth amendment to the Constitution, if the electors do not give a majority of votes to any candidate, the three highest names for president are submitted to the House of Representatives, and the two highest for vice-president to the Senate. The House chose John Quincy Adams for president. As John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, had become the candidate of all factions for vice-president, he was elected without appeal to the Senate.

The House of
Representatives
chooses Adams
for president

CHAPTER XXXIII

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS (SIXTH PRESIDENT, 1825-1829) NATIONAL-REPUBLICAN

1826

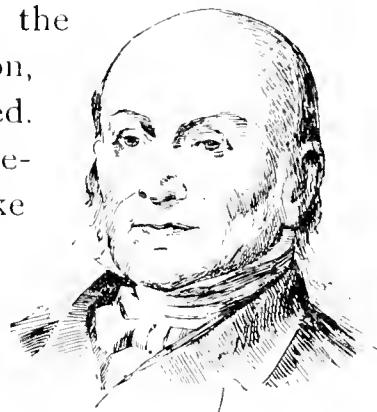
WITHIN a year after the departure of Lafayette, gloom spread over the fair skies of our Republic.

Death of Jefferson
and Adams

On the fourth of July, just fifty years after the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson, its author, and John Adams, its defender, died. The two men, like the two parties they represented, had once been bitter enemies, but, like their parties, they had long been friends.

About the time of their death, the "era of good feeling" came to an end. The Democratic-Republicans insisted on a *strict* construction of the Constitution, which they claimed would not allow the national government to make internal improvements or foster private commercial interests.¹

Now the State of New York had just completed the Erie canal;—“Clinton’s ditch,” it had been called for



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS
1767-1848

1825

The Erie Canal
completed

¹ Read Johnston’s “American Politics.”

several years, because Governor De Witt Clinton had been the prime mover in its construction. The success of this canal, joining the lakes to the Hudson, and thus to the sea, was unexpected. The cost of transports was reduced wonderfully. To haul a barrel of flour from Albany to Buffalo had once cost ten dollars. After the canal was built, the transport of a barrel of flour cost thirty cents. Trade with the Ohio valley, through Lake Erie, increased. Immigration poured into western New York, until within two years the State ranked first in population.

The craze for internal improvements

The fame of the Erie Canal aroused a greater desire than ever to build roads to the West, to span rivers with bridges, and to dig canals and improve harbors, so that the people of the United States might be drawn more closely together.¹

President John Quincy Adams² and Henry Clay, his secretary of state, gave a *liberal* construction to the Constitution, and urged that Congress had the right to make appropriations for national improvements, and to lay high tariffs on imported goods as a protection to our manufacturing interests.

The National
Republicans versus
the Democratic-
Republicans

A new party was soon formed by the administration, called the National Republicans. The National Republicans urged appropriations by Congress for internal improvements. The Democratic-Republicans³ argued that such improvements belonged to private enterprises and individual States. The Nationalists insisted on a high tariff; the Democrats demanded a light tariff for revenue only.

The difference between the two parties on the ques-

¹ Read Schurz's "Life of Henry Clay."

² Read Morse's J. Q. Adams."

³ Read Sumner's "Andrew Jackson."

tion of the tariff was largely sectional. At the close of the War of 1812 New England opposed a protective tariff on imported goods because it would injure her carrying trade; and the Southern States favored such a tariff because they hoped to establish mills on their plantations, where the negroes, who picked the cotton, might make it into cloth.

But a change of sentiment had taken place in the two sections on the tariff question. After the armies of Europe disbanded, the carrying trade of New England became less profitable; and the immigration of expert mechanics and weavers increased the interest in home manufactures. Wherever large mills were set up, they became the center for manufacturing towns. Farmers' daughters who had been educated in the public schools were largely employed, and thrift and intelligence made manufacturing very profitable in New England and the Middle States.

Meanwhile the South had found that the slaves possessed neither the skill nor the patience to become operatives in the mills. And so when the manufacturers of the North asked that high tariffs be laid on foreign importations to protect struggling industries, the planters of the South were in no humor to grant them. The West was divided on the tariff issue; yet Henry Clay, of Kentucky, was a host in himself, and, in the end, a very high protective tariff, called by its enemies the "tariff of abominations," was placed upon cotton and woolen goods and some other articles. This tariff brought money into the treasury so fast that the national debt was diminished at the rate of six million dollars a year. Then, true to the policy of the National party, Congress expended large sums of the tariff revenue on roads, canals, harbors, and other internal improvements.

1828

The "tariff of
abominations"

The bitterness of party feeling

Andrew Jackson
nominated president
by the Democrats

The feeling between the North and the South became more and more bitter. It was whispered in Charleston that it might be necessary to secede from the Union. When the close of Adams's first term drew near, the Democrats chose Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, for president. The tariff question had some weight in this choice, but the geographical situation of the candidate had much more to do with it. The West, which now sent senators and representatives to Congress from nine States, demanded recognition.

Growth of the West

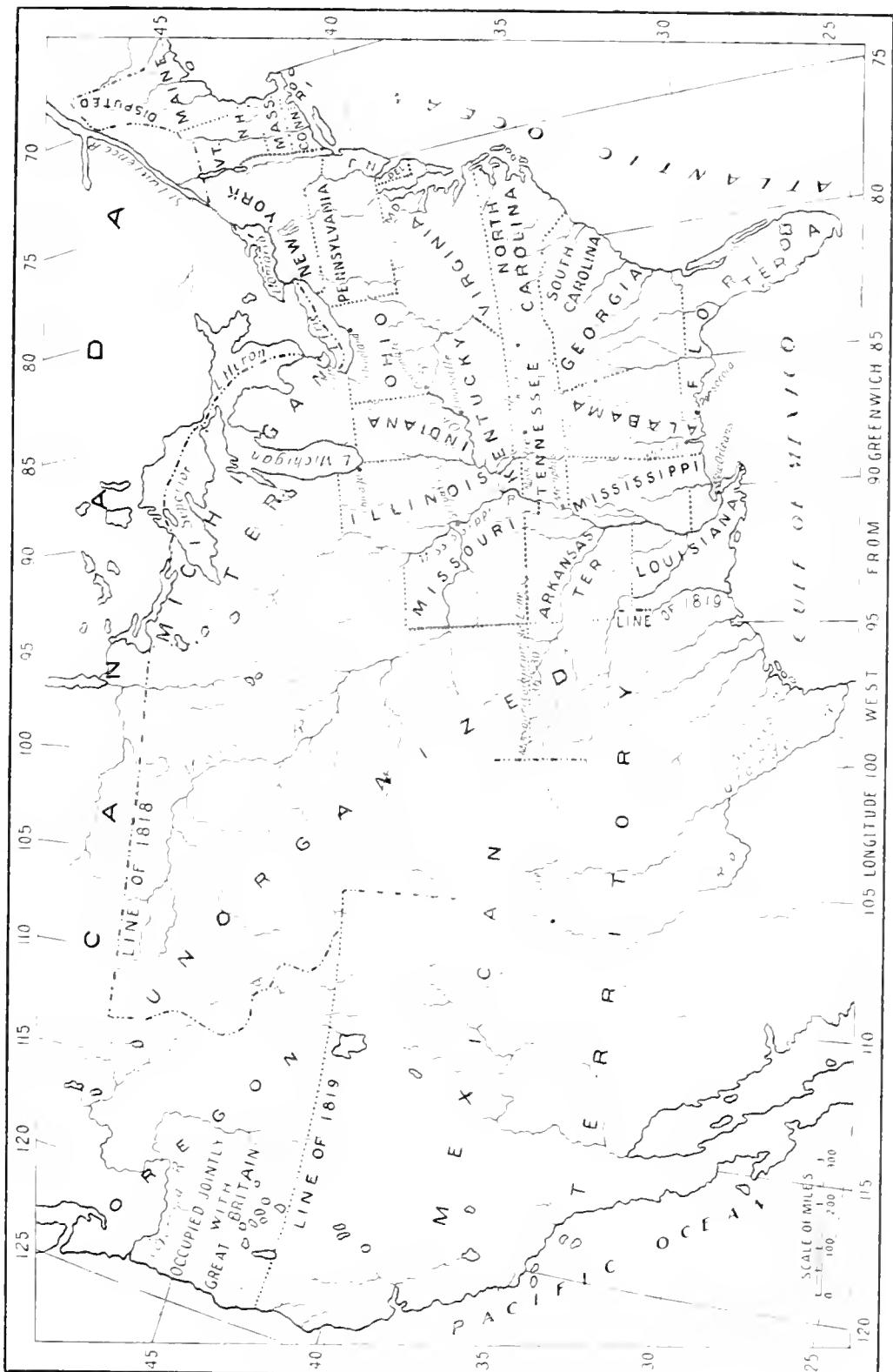
While the North and the South had been growing farther and farther apart politically, the States beyond the mountains were becoming more powerful. Towns were multiplying. Cincinnati, in thirty years, had grown to be a city of thirty thousand inhabitants. Cleveland, Indianapolis, and other towns north of the Ohio were developing. Chicago was only a village about the walls of Fort Dearborn, where there were more Pottawatomies than white settlers, but it was the center of supplies from the lakes, and promised much. St. Louis, with its French and Spanish population, had been invaded by American settlers, who were rearing warehouses, and establishing a vast trade on the Mississippi. Patches of grain in the clearings had grown into large farms; herds and flocks fed on the prairies, and the steamers and flat-boats that plied on the lakes and rivers were busy with traffic from morning till night. This boastful, pushing West would be a powerful champion for the party which might succeed in winning its support. And so the Dem-



NATIONAL REPUBLICAN
(ADAMS)



ELECTION OF 1828



UNITED STATES IN 1830

ocrats chose Andrew Jackson from beyond the mountains.

Andrew Jackson
elected president

Jackson's personal popularity was great. He was a "man of the people." The presidents, from Washington to John Quincy Adams, had been "aristocrats." The rough frontiersman, who had vanquished the Indians, humbled the British, and defied the Spaniards, was a plain, blunt commoner. Besides he had received more electoral votes than Adams at the preceding election, and when the House chose Adams, the people felt that their will had been thwarted; so they elected him president, with John C. Calhoun vice-president, for a second term.

CHAPTER XXXIV

ANDREW JACKSON (SEVENTH PRESIDENT, 1829-1837) DEMOCRATIC

THE Ship of State, under Andrew Jackson, was launched on a smiling sea. There was a surplus in the treasury, and the majority in both houses belonged to the party of the executive. It was an opportunity not to be despised by any president who had ideas of his own to carry out. Jackson had ideas of his own. More than six thousand post-masters, revenue collectors, department clerks, and other federal employees were removed the first year, to make place for his political friends.

This method of "rotation in office" established by Jackson, was adopted by succeeding presidents. Public offices came to be looked upon as rewards for partisan services. From the remark of a politician that



ANDREW JACKSON,

1767-1845

"Rotation in office"

The "spoils system" "to the victors belong the spoils," this system of distributing offices has been called the "spoils system."

The United States bank

Jackson began immediately to make war upon the national bank. He denounced it as unconstitutional, and insisted that State banks should transact the business of the country.

The free trade partisans were encouraged to attack the "tariff of abominations" more vigorously than ever. In a tariff debate in Congress, Robert Hayne, an eloquent senator from South Carolina, declared that the United States government was only a compact between the States, and that a State might nullify, or declare null and void, any act of Congress which its own legislature decided was unconstitutional.

1830
Robert Hayne
argues for the
theory of nullification

Daniel Webster
replies to Robert
Hayne

Senator Hayne's argument for nullification was answered by Senator Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, in one of the most remarkable speeches in the English language. It has been said that no single utterance in our history has done so much to strengthen the love of nationality.¹

Webster maintained that the *Continental Congress* had been a compact between the States; but the *United States* was a government of the people, by the people, for the people. To protect itself from any unconstitutional laws "the whole people" had organized a supreme court as the sole tribunal to decide in cases of dispute between the federal government and the States. A State, being only a *part* of the United States, had no right to prevent the execution of a law of the United States; and he declared that any resistance to the federal laws by a part of the people was treason and rebellion.

¹ Read Lodge's "Daniel Webster."

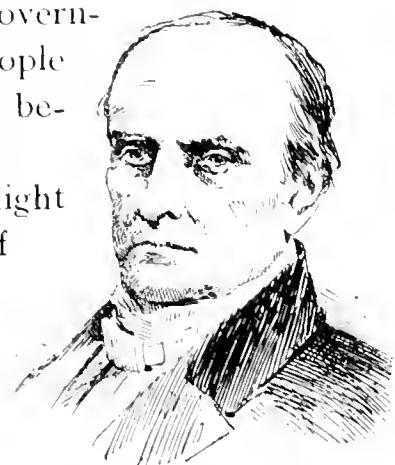
Then, later, in answer to the argument of John C. Calhoun for secession from the Union, Webster said there could be no secession. In a republic there must be either obedience to the laws, or a revolution by the majority of the people to set up a different government. These discussions in Congress set people to thinking, and newspapers and conventions began to talk of "State sovereignty."

It was feared in the North that Jackson might favor secession, but when some members of Congress gave him a banquet on Jefferson's birthday, and proposed toasts which hinted at secession, the president arose and offered the toast: "*Our Federal Union,—it must be preserved.*" He disliked the high tariff as much as Calhoun himself, but was determined to enforce it so long as it remained a law. He saw very clearly that if each State were allowed to be the judge of the laws passed by Congress, there would soon be no Union at all.

For the next presidential nominations each political party chose delegates to meet in national conventions to choose their candidates, instead of leaving the nominations to caucuses in Congress. A "national assembly of young men," supporting Henry Clay, the candidate of the Nationalists, wrote out a party platform or declaration of principles; and thus the people understood better than ever before the great questions at issue between the parties. These, as we have seen, were the tariff for protection, the national bank, and internal improvement at the expense of the government.

The Nationalists nominated Henry Clay for president. The Democrats were so united on Jackson that they did not formally nominate him; but named Martin Van

1832
John C. Calhoun
argues for the theory
of secession



DANIEL WEBSTER

1782-1852

1830
Jackson's toast:
"Our Federal
Union, it must be
preserved"

1831-1832
The national
conventions

1832
The first party
platform (May)

President Jackson
re-elected

South Carolina
forbids the collection
of federal revenue

Jackson sends a
man-of-war to
Charleston

1833
The compromise
tariff becomes a law

1832
Jackson vetoes the
National Bank bill

1833
Removal of deposits
from the national
bank

Buren for vice-president. Jackson and Van Buren were elected.

A convention in South Carolina now declared the high tariff null and without force, and forbade the collection of the federal revenues within the borders of South Carolina. Senator Hayne became governor of the State, and Calhoun resigned the vice-presidency before the inauguration of his successor, to defend in the Senate the doctrines of his State. Then the South Carolina legislature met, and passed laws to enforce an ordinance of nullification by the State militia, if necessary.

President Jackson was swift to act. He sent a naval force immediately to Charleston to assist in the collection of the federal revenues, and declared he would use the army to compel the State to loyalty. This had a marked effect on the leaders of nullification, and they allowed the taxes to be collected. Then through the efforts of Henry Clay, a compromise tariff bill was passed, which gradually reduced the tariff, and, for a time, the danger of disunion was over.

The National party's support of the national bank was so powerful that near the close of Jackson's first term, Congress passed a bill to recharter the bank when its old charter expired. President Jackson exercised his power of veto. There was not a vote of two thirds in Congress to pass the bill over the veto, and it failed to become a law.

Jackson removed ten millions of dollars from the national bank before the charter had expired. This act was declared unconstitutional by the Nationalists, and caused a bitter debate. A resolution to censure the president passed the Senate; but four years later this was expunged from the record through the influence of Thomas H. Benton, of Missouri.¹

¹ Read Roosevelt's "Life of Thomas H. Benton."

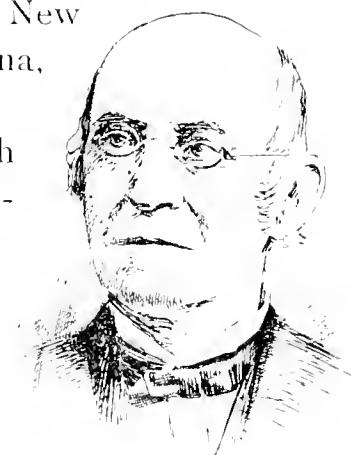
Nothing that was said made the least impression on the fearless Jackson; he gradually drew out all the federal money, and deposited it in State banks. He vetoed so many bills for internal improvements and other measures that the National party began to call themselves "Whigs," opposing the tyranny of "King Andrew," as the Whigs of the time of King George III had done. "I have been educated from my cradle in the principles of the Whigs of '76," said Daniel Webster. Henry Clay, of Kentucky; Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts; William H. Seward and Thurlow Weed, of New York, and William Henry Harrison, of Indiana, were the leaders of the Whigs.

The chasm between the North and the South was widening every year on account of the slavery question. In the free States of the North, where the negro was permitted to earn his own living, the race feeling was strong; he was seldom encouraged to better his condition. A school opened in Connecticut to educate colored children was forced to close its doors. No colored man dared sit in the church pews of a white congregation.

William Lloyd Garrison, the obscure editor of the *Liberator*, wrote fiery articles against the inequality of the white and black races in the North, and advocated the immediate and unconditional emancipation of every slave held in the United States.

A few months afterward, Nat Turner, a negro of Virginia, banded his clans together, and, at an eclipse of the sun, fell upon the scattered plantations to massacre the whites. Before their work could be stopped, sixty-one men, women, and children were killed. The South claimed that Garrison had incited the slaves to war. The North accused him of stirring up sectional

The Nationalists
call themselves
Whigs



W. L. GARRISON
1805-1879

1831

William Lloyd
Garrison, of Boston

Nat Turner's
insurrection in
Virginia

Abolition societies

strife. Mobs destroyed the printing press of the *Liberator*, and nearly hanged the young editor himself. But the influence of Garrison spread. Abolition societies were formed all over the North. Their meetings were frequently broken up by angry citizens, who said the "madmen" would destroy the Union unless they were silenced.

1834
Great Britain
emancipates her
slaves in the
West Indies

Meantime the British Parliament set seven hundred thousand slaves free in the British West Indies. With liberated negroes so near our own coast, the South was more fearful than ever of slave insurrections. But the Abolitionists continued to meet in conventions. They sent so many petitions against slavery to Congress that the "gag rule" was passed, that papers relating to slavery should be laid on the table.

John Quincy Adams
opposes the "gag
rule" in Congress

Ex-President John Quincy Adams headed in Congress the opposition to this rule. Through him so many petitions were presented and laid on the table that people began to question a rule which did not allow a hearing before Congress. "Could the United States be a free government and refuse the right of petitions?" they asked. Yet it was a long time before the "gag rule" was repealed.

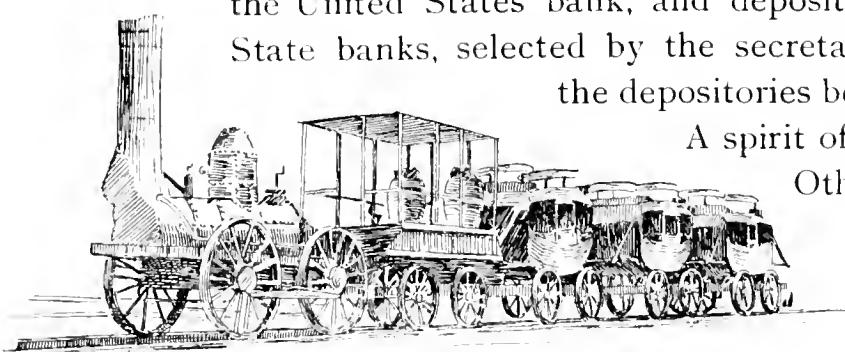
Jackson orders the
public funds to be
placed in State
banks

During the last years of President Jackson's administration, there seemed to be wonderful prosperity in the country. After he had removed the public funds from the United States bank, and deposited them in several State banks, selected by the secretary of the treasury, the depositories began to make loans.

A spirit of speculation arose.

Other State banks organized, and issued notes.

As money was



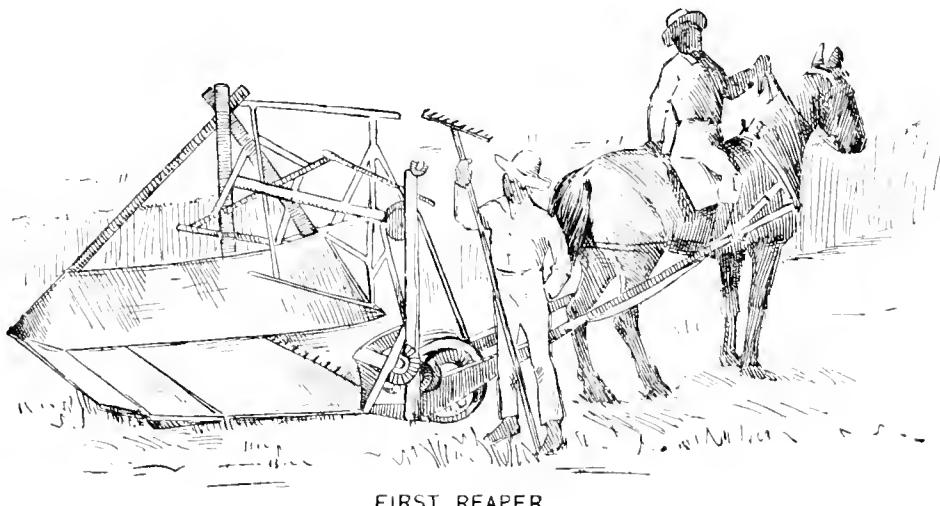
FIRST RAILWAY TRAIN WITH LOCOMOTIVE

A period of
prosperity

easy to get, manufactories, steamboat lines, and canals were built. Towns "boomed" as new centers of trade. Steam, produced by burning coal instead of wood, seemed as wonderful then as electricity does to-day. Railways were taking the place of the Erie canal boats. A historian of the day says: "The most curious thing at Baltimore is what is called a railroad. This consists of iron bars laid along the ground, and made fast, so that carriages with small wheels may

1830

The first railway
built at Baltimore



FIRST REAPER

run along upon them. You will mount a car something like a stage, and then you will be drawn along by two horses at the rate of twelve miles an hour."¹ It was not long till the locomotive took the place of horses.

John Ericsson's screw propeller promised to do away with the paddles of the steamboats that were plying back and forth from Europe in fourteen and a half days. Walter Hunt invented the lock-stitch sewing machine, and Fairbanks invented the platform scales; edge tools began to be designed; thrashing machines were improved; McCormick's reaper was patented; indeed, there were

Ericsson's screw
propeller and other
new inventions

¹ Goodrich's "First Book of History" (1834).

1836

The patent office
bureau

Newspapers

so many new inventions evolved from the busy brains of the Americans that the patent office was made a separate bureau under the department of the secretary of state.

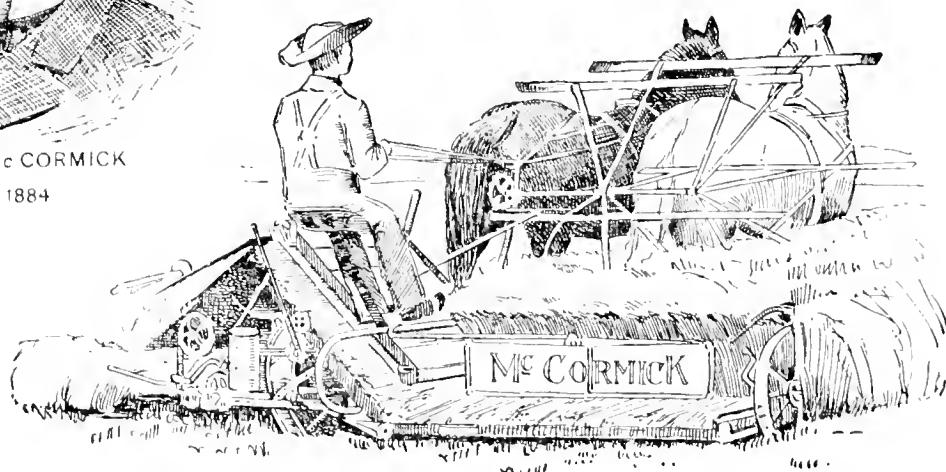
All these labor-saving machines gave farmers and mechanics more time to read, and so the era of the newspaper dawned. The New York *Sun* and the *Herald* sold at a penny apiece, and began to be the guides to public thought.

Poe, Bryant, and Whittier, the poets; Bancroft, and Prescott, the historians; Cooper, Hawthorne, Irving, and other American



CYRUS H. McCORMICK

1809-1884



American authors

writers, began to be read in the humblest homes; and Noah Webster's Dictionary, which, besides the good old English words, contained many new words coined in America, helped them to be read aright. Audubon, the ornithologist, challenged the admiration even of Europe by his illustrated treatise on "The Birds of America." The paintings of Benjamin West, Gilbert Stuart, John Trumbull, and other eminent American artists hung on the walls of the academies of Europe. Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, and John C. Calhoun, the orators; John Marshall, Joseph Story, and

Artists, orators,
and jurists



(1807-1892)



(1794-1878)



(1809-1849)



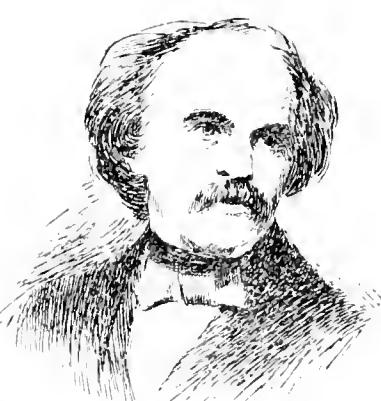
(1796-1859)



(1783-1859)



(1785-1851)



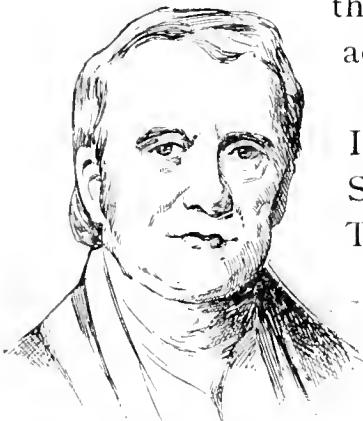
(1804-1864)

DISTINGUISHED WRITERS OF JACKSON'S TIME

JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER,
EDGAR ALLEN POE,
JOHN JAMES AUDUBON,

WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT,
WILLIAM HICKLING PRESCOTT,
NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE,

James Kent, the jurists, had won international reputations.¹ All this advancement in science, letters, and the arts caused much comment during Jackson's administration.



JOHN MARSHALL

1755-1850

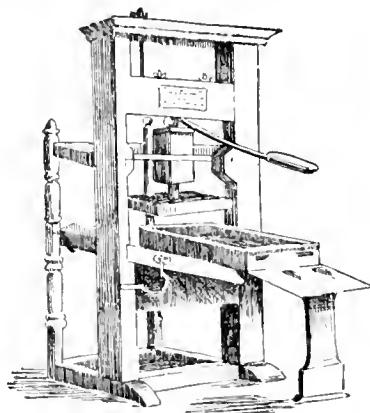
1832	The Black Hawk war
1834	Indian Territory set apart for the red men
1835	The Seminole war
	Foreign affairs

1836	Arkansas and
1837	Michigan admitted to the Union

He who had fought the Indians settled the Indian question with several tribes. When the Sacs, Foxes, and Winnebagoes, of Wisconsin Territory, led by Black Hawk, refused to give possession to lands they had sold, he sent federal troops to assist the Illinois militia in driving them beyond the Mississippi; after the Cherokees sold their lands in Georgia, he removed them to the Indian Territory, and when the Seminoles in Florida, led by Osceola, began to massacre the whites, his measures were so rigorous that they afterward removed to Indian Territory.

Finding that France would not consent to pay the five million dollars promised as indemnity for injury to our commerce during her wars, he advised Congress to take instant reprisals on French merchantmen. France hastened to pay her debt, and other nations followed her example.

Arkansas, a slave State, and Michigan, a free State, were admitted, under the Missouri Compromise, without a word of dispute. In fact, the whole machinery connected with a flourishing republic was said to be moving along with oiled joints as the administration of Andrew Jackson drew to a close. Jackson declared in his farewell address: "I leave this great people prosperous and happy."



EARLY PRINTING PRESS

¹ Read Schouler's "History of the United States," Vol. IV.

CHAPTER XXXV

MARTIN VAN BUREN (EIGHTH PRESIDENT, 1837-1841) DEMOCRATIC

THE sun of prosperity, which sent its beams over the last days of Andrew Jackson's administration, was a setting sun for that of Martin Van Buren, his successor.

Banks, established all over the country, had issued "Wild-cat" banks paper they could not redeem with gold or silver. Jackson himself had become distrustful of the banks' paper, and ordered government land agents to receive payment for land in gold or silver. This had caused an unusual demand for specie. The western banks drew gold and silver from the eastern banks to meet the demand. This weakened the eastern banks so that many suspended specie payment, which brought on a panic. Mortgages were foreclosed and factories and mills shut down. Thousands of men were without homes and without work. Prices of farm products fell to almost nothing, and provisions were stored for a better market.

The poor cried: "Down with monopolies!" They could not realize that the great corporations which had undertaken to build railroads, canals, and manufactories were the worst off of all. Mechanics began to form protective associations. There were strikes in the manufacturing towns, and the militia in New York City was called out to quell a mob which had broken open warehouses, and scattered some hoarded flour through the streets.



MARTIN VAN BUREN
1782-1862

Collapse of the
"boom"

Protective
associations

Strikes
Riots

States suffered. Several State legislatures had borrowed money in Europe for public improvements, and could not even pay the interest on their debts. The United States suffered. During Jackson's administration, Congress had agreed to distribute a surplus of over thirty-seven million dollars among the States, to be paid in four instalments. Three payments had been made; but now that the fourth payment was due, the government was unable to meet its pledges because its depositories had closed their doors. And so we may well call the panic of 1837 the greatest in our history, because both State and federal governments were as bankrupt as any citizen.

The distribution of
the surplus among
the States

1837
The fourth
instalment of the
surplus not paid
when due
(October 1)

A special session of
Congress

United States
treasury notes
issued

The subtreasuries

1840
A bill for the
subtreasury is passed

William Henry
Harrison nominated
by the Whigs

President Van Buren, the "Little Magician," called a special session of Congress to consider what might best be done. It was decided to issue United States treasury notes to the amount of ten million dollars. This issue again put the government in debt; but it helped somewhat to restore confidence. The Whigs urged their favorite national bank bill, but Van Buren would not listen to such a plan. He proposed the subtreasury system, now in use, by which the United States possessed a treasury of their own. The public revenues were to be collected by four "receivers general," who gave bonds to make good all sums so collected, and pay the money, on demand, to the United States government. The chief deposit of the revenues was in a treasury at Washington, with smaller treasuries, or subtreasuries, at St. Louis, Charleston, New York, and Boston.

After the first results of the panic passed away, business became better. Railroad building recommenced, and factories started their wheels again. But financial troubles had so injured the party in power, that the

Whigs had hopes of electing their candidates. They nominated in convention William Henry Harrison, of Indiana, president, and John Tyler, of Virginia, vice-president. The Democrats renominated Van Buren, but put no vice-president in the field. The campaign was one of the most notable in our history. The Whig newspapers waged a bitter war of words. Clay and Webster laid aside their own ambitions, and spoke to thousands in open-air meetings, or marched in long processions among log cabins, coon skins, cider barrels, and other emblems of the humble life on the frontier where Harrison lived. And thus it was that the Whigs, who were called the aristocrats, seated the plain hero of Tippecanoe in the White House.



ELECTION OF 1840

CHAPTER XXXVI

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON AND JOHN TYLER (NINTH AND TENTH PRESIDENTS, 1841-1845)

WHIG

WITH Daniel Webster as secretary of state, there seemed every reason that the new Whig administration would be popular; but President Harrison died one month after his inauguration.

Daniel Webster,
secretary of state
1841
Death of President
Harrison

Tyler vetoes the
National Bank bill

Vice-President Tyler became president. All the members of the old cabinet soon resigned save Daniel Webster, who, at the time, was busily engaged in foreign affairs. The chief cause of the rupture between Tyler and the cabinet was his veto of the bill to recharter the bank of the United States.

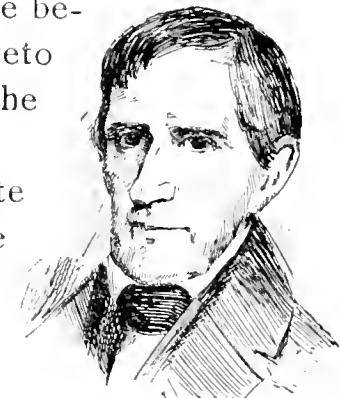
Webster felt that he must complete negotiations already begun between the United States and Great Britain. During Van Buren's administration, Canada had attempted a revolution against the mother country. Our border States sympathized with the Canadians, and Great Britain was irritated because some of their citizens had lent them aid. There were disputes about the fisheries, and the northeast boundary line of Maine which had not been determined by the treaty of 1783. Daniel Webster displayed signal ability in adjusting these difficulties with Lord Ashburton, the

1842
The Webster-
Ashburton treaty

British minister. After the Ashburton treaty was ratified by both governments, he also resigned from the cabinet, and President Tyler appointed in his place John C. Calhoun, the ardent advocate of State sovereignty.

Now, the annexation of Texas was much desired by the South. While Texas was still one of the provinces of the republic of Mexico, Americans had been encouraged to settle there.

The cheap land and fine climate attracted immigration until, in a few years, twenty thousand Americans were citizens. When Santa Anna became president of Mexico, Texas insisted on being independent. Santa Anna invaded the territory to com



WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON
1773-1841



JOHN TYLER
1790-1862

pel submission. He was defeated by General Samuel Houston, of Tennessee, at the battle of San Jacinto. A few months later, Houston was made president of Texas, and the following year the United States, Great Britain, and France acknowledged the independence of the new republic.

Texas soon asked to be added to the United States, and her cause was eagerly espoused by the States along the gulf. President Tyler made a secret treaty with the Texan authorities to admit the republic as a State. The Senate rejected the treaty on the ground that it would bring on war with Mexico. The question of annexation continued to be agitated by the slaveholding States. When Florida should be admitted, all the territory south of the Missouri Compromise line would be formed into States; but the territory north would still furnish several free States. Texas might be divided into five commonwealths as large as Pennsylvania. Its climate was genial. Its soil was fertile. It was the ideal spot for the extension of the slavery system.

This one subject of the annexation of Texas occupied the minds of the politicians at the national conventions. The Whigs nominated Henry Clay, of Kentucky, who opposed annexation, and the Democrats, James K. Polk, of Tennessee, who favored it. The Abolitionists were strong enough by this time to form the Liberty party, and nominated James G. Birney, of Ohio, who had been their choice four years before.

1836

Texas asks to be admitted into the Union



ELECTION OF 1844

1844
The national
conventions

1837
Wendell Phillips



SAMUEL F. B. MORSE
1791-1872

James K. Polk
is elected

1845
Tyler signs the bill
for the annexation
of Texas

1845
Florida admitted

1846
Iowa admitted

The trouble between the political parties of the North and the Abolitionists had caused much excitement. At Alton, Ill., Elijah P. Lovejoy, editor of an Abolition paper, was killed during a riot. When, in a public meeting in Boston,¹ some one defended the rioters as patriots and preservers of the *Union*, a slender youth arose, and said in a voice of thrilling sweetness: "When I heard the gentleman lay down principles which placed the rioters, incendiaries, and murderers of Alton side by side with Otis and Hancock, with Quincy and Adams, I thought those pictured lips (pointing to the portraits of the patriots on the wall) would have broken into voice, to rebuke the recreant American, the slanderer of the dead."

It was Wendell Phillips who devoted himself from that night to the abolition of slavery.

At the election, the Liberty party drew away enough votes from Henry Clay² to give the victory to James K. Polk, and the news of his election was carried from Baltimore to Washington over telegraph wires.³

Encouraged by the election of their candidate, the Democrats in the Senate passed the bill for the annexation of Texas. President Tyler signed the bill, and sent it to Texas to be ratified.

Tyler also signed the bill for the admission of Florida and Iowa. This would give each section fourteen States, and continue the "balance of power." Iowa, however, was not formally admitted until the following year.

¹ In Faneuil Hall.

² Schurz's "Henry Clay."

³ The wonderful invention of telegraphy had been perfected by Samuel Morse. It had seemed so impossible to the people that when an appropriation was asked of Congress, to lay wires between these two cities, one lawmaker moved to amend by providing for a line to the moon!

CHAPTER XXXVI

JAMES K. POLK (ELEVENTH PRESIDENT, 1845-1849)
DEMOCRATIC

PRESIDENT POLK began his administration with a clear majority in both houses of Congress. It was an eventful administration.

Texas was admitted; about two years later, Wisconsin balanced the free and slave States again; the territory of Oregon was divided between the United States and Great Britain.

Now, the United States had claimed the region between California and Alaska,¹ on account of the discovery of the Columbia River by Captain Robert Gray in the good ship *Columbia*, while buying furs for China. This was during the administration of Washington. The Lewis and Clark expedition, during the administration of Jefferson, had opened the way for the Pacific Fur Company to plant a colony on the Columbia which they called Astoria, after John Jacob Astor, of New York, the founder of the Company.

During the administration of Monroe, the boundary line between British America and the United States was agreed upon to the crest of the Rocky Mountains. Beyond the mountains there was to be joint possession of the Oregon lands for ten years. Later, it was mutually agreed that the joint occupation might continue until one should end the agreement by giving a year's notice. Meanwhile, by the treaty be-

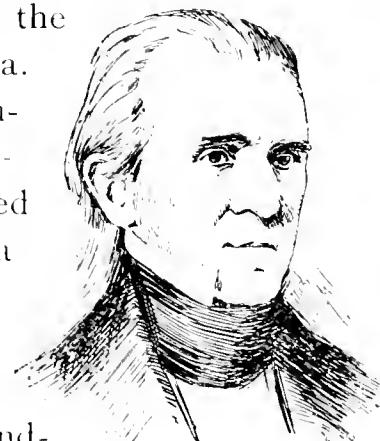
1845

Texas admitted
to the Union
1845

Wisconsin admitted

1792

The discovery of
the Columbia River



JAMES K. POLK

1795-1849

1818-1846

Joint possession
of Oregon

1849

The south boundary
line of undivided
Oregon fixed

¹See map of the territorial growth of the United States.

1824-1825
The boundary line
between undivided
Oregon and Russian
Alaska fixed

1829
Hall J. Kelley
establishes a society
for Oregon
immigration

1841
Captain Wilkes
explores the
Columbia River

1843
Whitman's
settlement in Oregon

1846
The treaty with
Great Britain
concerning the
north boundary line
of Oregon ratified
(June 15)

1848
Oregon organized as
a free-soil Territory

tween Spain and the United States for the sale of the Floridas, the south line of Oregon was agreed to be 42° . A few years later,¹ Russia, Great Britain, and the United States fixed the line between Oregon and Russian Alaska at $54^{\circ} 40'$. Thus the undivided Oregon country lay between 42° and $54^{\circ} 40'$.

Great Britain claimed more than half of Oregon, and was determined to control the Columbia River. The best way for the United States to secure the disputed lands was by settlement. Accordingly, at the beginning of Jackson's administration, H. J. Kelley established a society for Oregon immigration. A few years later Captain Wilkes explored the Columbia in command of a squadron bearing scientists and practical surveyors, whose published accounts aroused the liveliest interest. Then Marcus Whitman, a missionary, pointed out the way to two hundred families, who pitched their tents on the banks of the Columbia. Other settlers followed, until there were several thousand in Oregon.

Finally a treaty was negotiated with Great Britain by which the region was divided at the parallel of 49° north and the Straits of Fuca, with the Columbia River on the American side. The tract thus secured was more than twice as large as Great Britain and Ireland. It included what are now the States of Oregon, Idaho, Washington, and parts of Montana and Wyoming. Two years later, Oregon, after a long and bitter debate between the slavery and antislavery factions in Congress, was organized as a free-soil Territory.

Although Texas had been admitted into the Union, its southwest boundary line had not been settled.

The government of Mexico was not disposed to favor the Texans since their desertion to the United States, and drew their western boundary line along the Nueces

¹ See page 216.

River.¹ The Texans, however, insisted that the Rio Grande was the dividing line. It is thought that arbitration might have settled the disputes, but when the Texan Legislature begged the government to protect the State, President Polk sent General Zachary Taylor across the Nueces with an "army of occupation."

A scouting party of American dragoons was attacked by the Mexicans, and seventy of them were killed. Then General Taylor engaged and defeated the Mexican armies at Palo Alto and at Resaca de la Palma. The Mexicans recrossed the Rio Grande; Taylor invaded Mexico.

1846

Zachary Taylor at
Palo Alto
(May 8)
and
Resaca de la Palma
(May 9)



Meantime Congress declared that "war existed by act of the republic of Mexico."

Congress declares
war with Mexico
(May 13)

Now the republic of Mexico included California within its boundaries. It was undesirable to Great Britain that the commerce-pushing United States should obtain control of California, the gateway to China and the East Indies, and British war ships hovered threateningly in the Pacific; yet Great Britain could not well interfere in Mexican affairs after having given open approval to the Monroe doctrine.

In the battle of Monterey, General Taylor shared his honors of victory with several West Point graduates, among whom were young Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, and Ulysses S. Grant, of Ohio, both destined to be dis-

Monterey
(September 24)

¹ See map of territorial growth of United States.

1847
Buena Vista
(February 23)

John C. Fremont
in California



ROBERT FIELD STOCKTON
1795-1866

California declares
independence

1846
Stephen W. Kearney
at Santa Fé
(August 18)

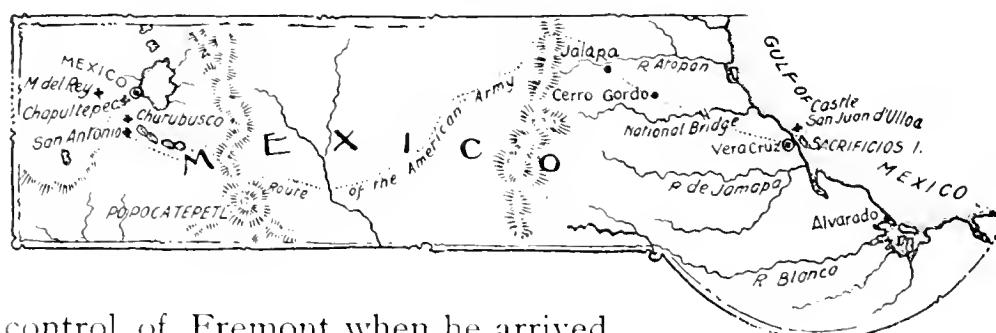
tinguished actors in our national drama. At Buena Vista, the following year, Taylor achieved one of the most brilliant successes of the war.

Meantime John C. Fremont, the "Pathfinder" in the far West, crossed the Sierra Nevada. He found the Mexicans of California planning to massacre American settlers, and accept the protection of Great Britain, in case of war between Mexico and the United States.

Acting under instructions from the government, Fremont sought to gain the good will of the inhabitants. He drilled them at arms, and in a few weeks a flag of independence with a grizzly bear for its device, was waiving over California.

When the Mexican authorities attempted to regain the territory, Fremont with his troops, and Commodore Stockton with a fleet of vessels, put the American flag over the forts on the coast.

General Kearney reached Santa Fé, by way of the Santa Fé trail, occupied it, and declared New Mexico a part of the United States by right of conquest. He then marched to California which was already under the



control of Fremont when he arrived.

1847
Winfield Scott at
Vera Cruz
(March 2)

Meantime General Winfield Scott had assumed chief command of the American armies. Reinforced by a part of Taylor's troops, he landed at Vera Cruz, occupied that city after a bombardment, and set

out for the city of Mexico. At Cerro Gordo he drove Santa Anna to flight. At Churubusco, Molino del Rey, and Chapultepec he was victorious; and at Mexico, with Ulysses S. Grant, Robert E. Lee, and other young heroes, he unfurled the stars and stripes over the government building on the site of the temple that Cortez had stormed more than three hundred years before.

The Mexicans would hear of no treaty of peace. President Polk refused to give up the territory his armies had gained. The Thirtieth Congress assembled to listen to his message,¹ and was soon debating whether to vote more money to continue the war.

Among the new members were Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, in the House, and Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, in the Senate. Both of these men were born in Kentucky. Davis was an aristocrat, whose gallant conduct during the Mexican war, and marriage to General Taylor's daughter, had given him high social honors; Lincoln was from the "poor whites," and attracted little attention at Washington.

Davis claimed that slavery was a benefit to both master and slave, and wanted to continue the war with Mexico to the end that the whole country might be annexed as slave territory; Lincoln abhorred the slave traffic, which had made his people outcasts on their native soil, and was opposed to the war with Mexico, because he suspected it to be for conquest. The one worshiped John C. Calhoun, who believed that the States might withdraw from the Union; the other took for his idol Henry Clay, who loved the Union so well that he had won the name of "Compromiser" in his efforts

Cerro Gordo
April 10.
Churubusco
August 20.
Molino del Rey
(September 8)
Chapultepec
September 13.
Mexico
September 14.

The thirtieth
Congress

Abraham Lincoln
and Jefferson Davis

¹ Electric wires bore the message as far west as St. Louis, and it was eagerly read throughout the country because of the excitement about the Mexican question.

to hold the States together. These two members of the Thirtieth Congress would one day be the leaders of parties they represented.

In the House was Andrew Johnson, a tailor, of Tennessee; among the senators were Daniel Webster, John C. Calhoun, Thomas H. Benton, and young Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois. Henry Clay was not in the Thirtieth Congress, but in a speech delivered in Lexington, Ky., denouncing the Mexican war, he said he feared the president's policy was to annex Mexico to the United States, and declared that Congress should disclaim the "desire on our part to acquire any foreign territory whatever for the purpose of propagating slavery or of introducing slaves from the United States."

Clay's words aroused the Whigs. They opposed the proposition to vote a war loan. Abraham Lincoln presented a set of resolutions asking the president to state the "exact spot" where the blood of Americans had been shed. He insisted that American troops had invaded Mexican soil.

In the midst of the debating, a courier rode into Washington to deliver a treaty of peace with Mexico, which had been signed at Guadalupe Hidalgo, a small town near the city of Mexico.

Even while the president's report was at the door of the Senate, John Quincy Adams, the "old man eloquent," fell dying from his chair in the House of Representatives. For more than fifty years Adams had served his country; and Congress, without regard to party, paid tribute to his memory.

When Congress met, after an adjourned session, the treaty was accepted with a few changes; and the American troops withdrew from the Mexican capital.

By the treaty of Guadalupe, New Mexico and Califor-

Henry Clay's speech
at Lexington
denounces the war

1848

The treaty of
Guadalupe Hidalgo
(February 2)

The death of
John Quincy Adams

The Senate ratifies
the Mexican treaty

nia, including California, New Mexico, Nevada, Arizona, Utah, and parts of Colorado and Wyoming, were added to the United States by purchase;¹ and the boundary line between the two countries was made to extend along the Rio Grande from its mouth to the southern limit of New Mexico; thence westward along the boundary of that territory to the Gila River, and along the Gila to the Colorado, and thence due west.²

A few years later, by the Gadsden purchase, a tract of 45,535 square miles was added to this cession.³

1853
The Gadsden purchase

By the annexation of Texas, and the cession of Mexico, a larger territory was added than that of the thirteen colonies at the time of their permanent Union, and the Pacific Coast was reached. But the land of fruits and flowers threw an apple of discord into the lap of fair Columbia. The republic of Mexico had prohibited slavery, and thus the newly acquired territory was free soil.

The revival of the slavery question

The antislavery faction cried, "No more slave territory! All the free territory must remain free!" The Whigs and Democrats of the South drew closer together in defense of Southern institutions. The Mexican war had been largely carried on by Southern men, and the two greatest generals, Taylor and Scott, had been from the South. Every loyal Southerner felt that he should help to further advance the cotton industry.

The Whigs and the
Democrats of the
South draw closer
together

Meanwhile David Wilmot, a Democratic member of Congress from Pennsylvania, had proposed that slavery should be forever prohibited in all the new territory.

1846
The "Wilmot proviso" fails to pass

This famous Wilmot proviso failed to pass both houses

¹ The consideration was \$15,000,000, in addition to the payment of the claims of the American citizens against Mexico amounting to \$3,500,000.

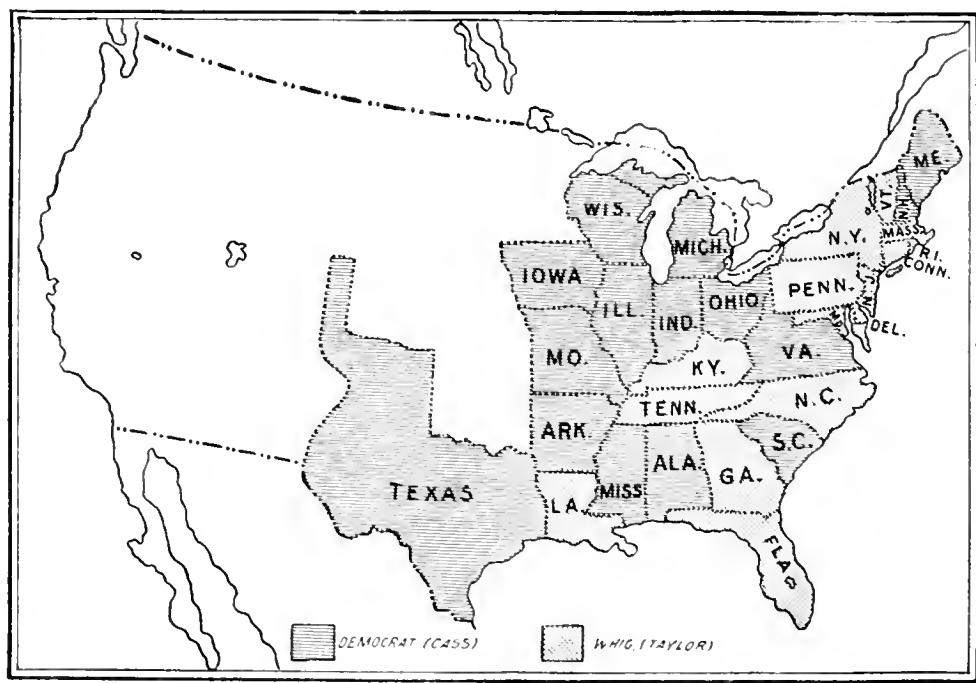
² See map of territorial growth.

³ Bought of Mexico for \$10,000,000.

1848

Wisconsin admitted

of Congress, but, as we shall see, its policy was really carried out, and Texas was the last State admitted with slaves. The admission of Wisconsin two years after the debate on the Wilmot proviso only served to increase the desire in the South to create another slave State. And so when the national election drew near, the great issue was slavery in the California territory. A new



1848

The Free-soil party
is organized

party, the "Free-soilers," was formed of the Abolitionists, and those of the Whigs and Democrats who supported the Wilmot proviso. This was largely due to the fact that although Whigs and Democrats knew that slavery was the issue, neither party said anything about it for fear of losing votes. The Whigs of the North were not willing to lose the Whigs of the South, and the Democrats of the South were not willing to lose the Democrats of the North.

The Free-soilers did not succeed at the polls; but

with Martin Van Buren, of New York, as their candidate for president, and Charles Francis Adams, of Massachusetts, for vice-president, they drew so many votes from the Democrats in New York that they helped to defeat Lewis Cass and William O. Butler, the Democratic nominees. The Whig nominees, General Zachary Taylor, of Louisiana, and Millard Fillmore, of New York, were elected.

General Taylor
elected president

CHAPTER XXXVIII

ZACHARY TAYLOR AND MILLARD FILLMORE

(TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH PRESIDENTS, 1849-1853)

WHIG

PRESIDENT TAYLOR was called to preside over a vast territory. From the Atlantic sea board, our boundary lines had spread beyond the Alleghanies, crossed the Mississippi to the mountains, and, scaling these, had reached the Pacific. When the treaty was signed for the cession of California and New Mexico, it was hoped that immigration would, in time, settle up the country on account of the fertile soil and the harbor of San Francisco.

Hardly were the new lands acquired, however, when it was known that gold had been discovered among the foothills of the Sierras.

The sluices of Sutter's sawmill near the site of Sacramento first revealed the precious metal; and then it was found in rocks, rivers, and ravines. In a few weeks, four thousand men were on the banks of the Sacramento River. The gold excitement spread.

1849
President Taylor's
administration
begins March 5th



ZACHARY TAYLOR
1784-1850

1848
Gold found in the
Sierras January

The gold fever

Sailors abandoned their ships, privates deserted the army, farmers left their plows in the field, merchants closed their shops to join in the rush for gold. Virginians, descendants of the gold hunters of Jamestown Colony, sold their slaves, and, with the money strapped about their waists, renewed the search of the cavaliers. The news of the marvelous gold fields crossed the sea. Once more, as in the time of Raleigh, ships set sail from English ports in search of gold in America.

The two sea routes
to California

Every available vessel was pressed into service to transport passengers to San Francisco. There were two routes by sea: one by way of the Isthmus of Panama where pestilence was to be feared, and the other around Cape Horn, which took seven months.

The overland route

The overland route to Sacramento followed the trail of Fremont, the pathfinder. The emigrants started from St. Joseph, Mo., in early spring, that the prairies might furnish food for their stock, and, after weeks of travel, reached Ft. Laramie at the base of the Rocky Mountains. Camp fires stretched in one unending line along the emigrant trail. There was constant fear of the Indians. Cholera broke out, and four thousand died with the disease the first year. But on through the mountain passes flowed the stream of "prairie schooners" to Salt Lake City, where a peculiar religious sect, called the Mormons, dwelt. This town had been established by Brigham Young about the time of the gold discoveries in California. With its wide streets, and streams of fresh water, brought from the mountains, it was like a garden in the wilderness. Refreshed, and replenished with supplies at the "City of the Saints," the emigrants pushed on to Sacramento.

Salt Lake City

In the first year after the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill, eighty-five thousand people had made their way by

land or sea to this El Dorado of the West, and were immortalized ever after by the name of "forty-niners." San Francisco, with two thousand inhabitants in February, had twenty thousand on New Year's day of the following year.

The "Forty-niners"

San Francisco

The American flag waved over Chinese, Mexicans, Malays from the islands, and adventurers from Europe. Notwithstanding the efforts of a military governor, however, the Territory was in a state of anarchy. The better class of citizens insisted on safer laws than those of the bowie knife and revolver, and a convention which met to form a State government, asked admittance to the Union.

1840
A State constitution adopted

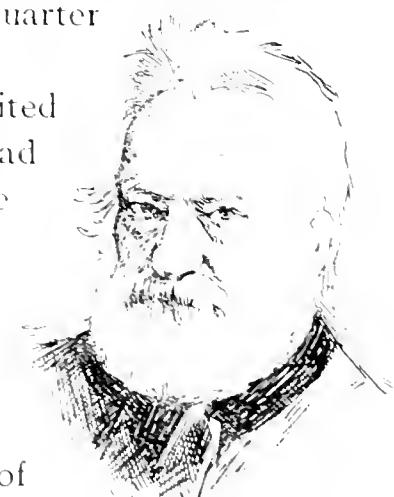
Now there were no slaves in California. Everybody labored with his own hands, and a clause in the constitution, prohibiting slavery, passed without comment. No one stopped to think or care what effect another free State would have in the halls of Congress. And when the Thirty-first Congress assembled, a struggle began over the slavery question which was to last a quarter of a century.

Slavery prohibited

Victor Hugo
reproaches the
United States

The eyes of all nations were fixed on the United States at that time. Most of the monarchies had liberated their slaves; yet the republic of the United States still held men in bondage. "Liberty is wearing a chain!" cried Victor Hugo from France. "The United States must renounce slavery, or they must renounce Liberty!"

The Thirty-first Congress was an assembly of remarkable men. In the Senate were Clay, in ill health; Webster, "soon to fall," and Calhoun, near death's door. Each was the idol of his section, and the North, the South, and the West were said to meet

VICTOR HUGO
1802-18851840
The Thirty-first
Congress

together when these great orators entered the Senate. Among the other members of the Congress were William H. Seward, of New York; Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio; Samuel Houston, of Texas; Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, and Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia. All realized from the beginning the impending struggle, and a week was spent trying to select a doorkeeper whose views were acceptable to a majority.

When the demand of California for admission to the Union was read, it was argued that the Missouri Compromise would not apply, because a part of the territory lay south of the parallel $36^{\circ} 30'$. Henry Clay was a slaveholder, but an enthusiast for freedom. His compromises on the admission of Missouri had kept peace for thirty years. He now sought again to cement the sections by a compromise, and proposed: First, that California be admitted as a free State, that Utah and New Mexico be organized with or without slavery, as they might desire, and that Texas should be paid to give up all claim to New Mexico; second, that the slave trade be abolished in the District of Columbia; third, that a law be enacted for the arrest and restoration of fugitive slaves found in the free States.

Henry Clay, the
“great pacificator”

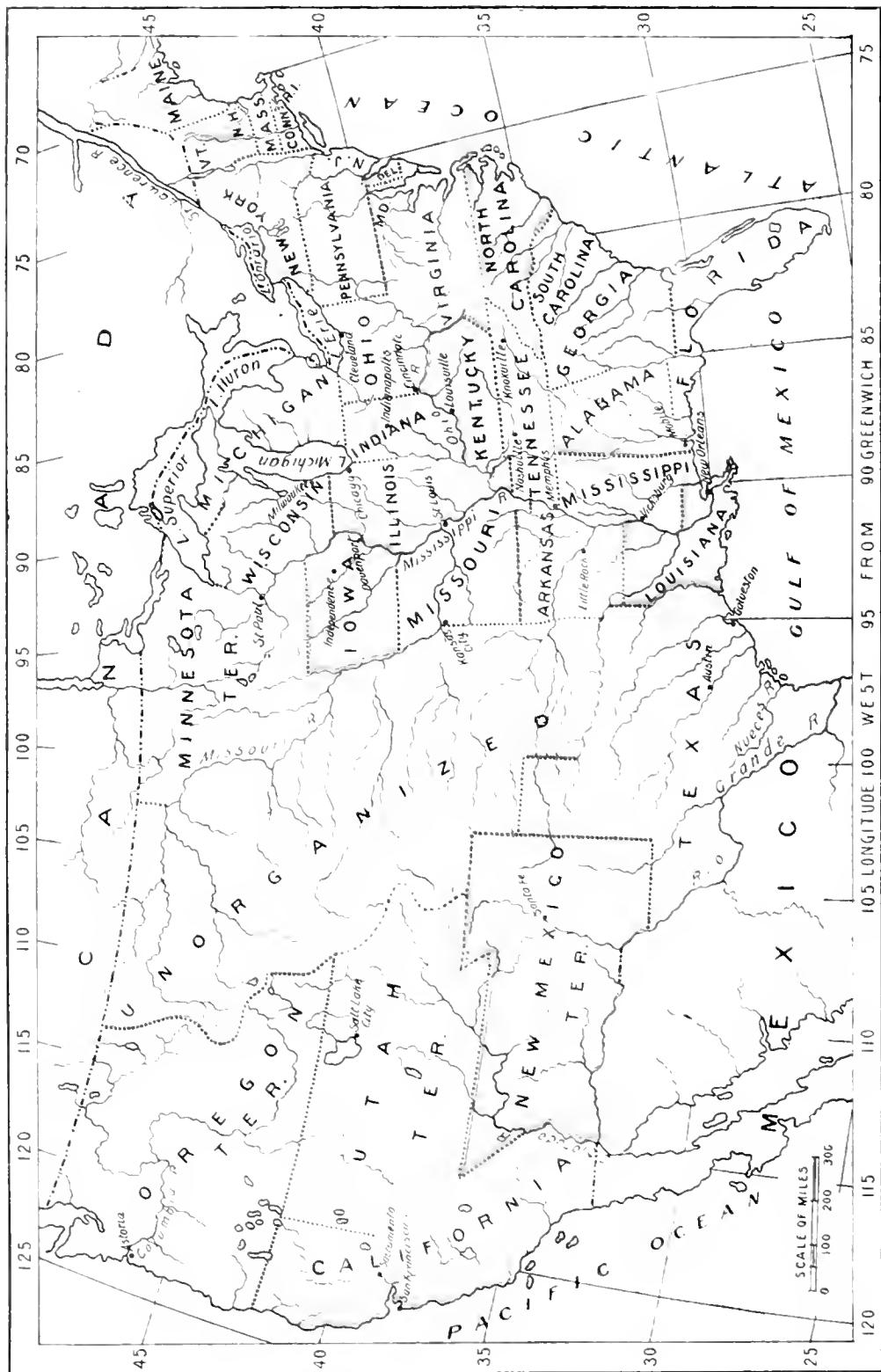
The “Omnibus bill”

Daniel Webster
supports Clay's
compromise

Jefferson Davis
demands the
extension of the
Missouri line

Daniel Webster, in his famous Seventh-of-March speech, supported the compromise allowing popular sovereignty in the Territories. He said he saw the ordinance of nature written on the mountains and plateaus that cotton plantations could never be established in Utah and New Mexico, and they would come in free anyway.

Jefferson Davis declared there was only one compromise possible, and that was to extend the Missouri line to the Pacific, and allow the South her share of the new territory.



UNITED STATES IN 1850

The aged Calhoun refused a compromise, and demanded a balance of power between the North and the South. The South, he said, must have more territory for her expansion; must have less tariff on her imports; and the federal government must cease to assume so much power over the States. If these rights could not be granted the South, she should be allowed to separate and depart in peace.¹

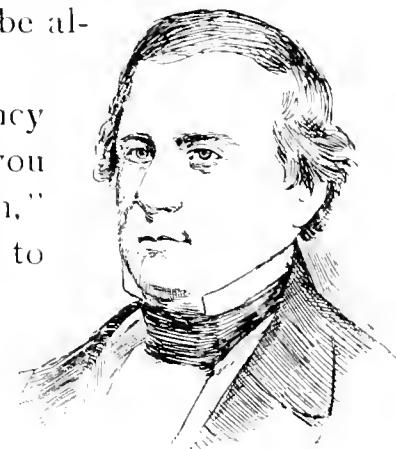
William H. Seward, to whom John Quincy Adams had said before he died, "I look to you to do a great deal for the cause of freedom," declared, in a powerful speech, he would listen to "no compromise on a question of conscience."

Thus the extremists of each party refused to compromise; but the majority of the people were anxious for peace, and favored the "Omnibus bill," as Clay's compromise measure was called. So California was admitted free.

While the discussion was engrossing the attention of the whole country, President Taylor died. He was carried to his grave in a solemn pageant; and "Old Whitey," the famous war horse of the "general who never surrendered," was led with empty saddle behind the funeral car.

To Millard Fillmore fell the task of signing the compromises of Henry Clay. The people rejoiced when the struggle was over. They believed the slavery question was settled forever. And an engraving hung on the walls of many homes, called "Union," which showed statesmen from both sections—Clay, Webster, Calhoun, and others—standing near a statue of Washington, who bore the national emblem in his hand.

John C. Calhoun
demands a balance
of power



MILLARD FILLMORE
1800-1874

1850

Death of President
Taylor (July 9)

Millard Fillmore
inaugurated
president (July 10)

Clay's compromises
are passed, and
signed by the
president

¹ Read Johnston's "American Orations," Vol. II.

The fugitive slave law is unpopular in the North

Peace and prosperity

Manufactures in New England and the Middle States

Immigration of industrial classes

The potato famine in Ireland

Routes for a Pacific railroad surveyed

The fugitive slave clause was very unpopular in the North. Yet Clay's last compromise was of great value to national unity. It held the States together until the slow march of public sentiment had united factions for a final struggle which would prevent disunion.¹

All parties seemed now at peace. The danger of the slavery question lay hidden under the blossoms of prosperity. Trade was greatly stimulated by the new gold circulation, not only in the United States but in Europe. More markets for goods were opened, more mills and foundries set up. Mountain streams furnished the finest water power in the world; and Pennsylvania coal fed furnaces for the new steam machinery. Massachusetts became the rival of England in weaving cloth of cotton and wool. The spindles at Lowell ran faster than those of Manchester; and textile fabrics began to be exported.

Just about this time, there was an industrial depression in Great Britain. The mill hands of the manufacturing centers emigrated in large numbers to take their places in the American mills; and new steamers were built to help carry them.

Then there was a potato famine in Ireland, and many tenant farmers set their faces toward America, singing:—

“To the West, to the West, to the land of the free
Where the mighty Missouri rolls down to the sea,
Where a man is a man if he's willing to toil,
And the humblest may gather the fruits of the soil.”

To transport these people to their Western homes, new railroad lines were laid. A railroad was even projected to the Pacific coast, and though the proposition was much ridiculed, surveyors were sent out to examine different routes.

¹ Rhodes's “History of the United States,” Vol. I.

For rapid transit beyond the Mississippi, a stage line with tight coaches for crossing streams now ran once a month between Independence, Mo., and Santa Fé, New Mexico; steamboats carried Eastern passengers up the lakes to Chicago, or down the Ohio to Independence. The railway was always stretching farther west, but the application of steam to travel was dreaded by the masses. There were so many accidents from imperfect boilers and inexpert firemen that some legislators recommended that a private car be attached to every train, where one of the directors of the railroad company should be compelled by law to risk his life with the rest.

Meantime the public lands, Indian affairs, pensions, and patents had grown to such proportions that the department of the interior was established, including these bureaus.

Filled with pride at our record on the seas, Congress had established at Annapolis a training-school for the navy corresponding to that of the army at West Point.

Then, because the revenues from the post-office exceeded the expenditures, postage, which was ten cents per half ounce for over three hundred miles, was reduced to three cents under three thousand miles.

When Britannia gave her first World's Fair, she smiled graciously on young Columbia, and invited her to come. We had no laces, silks, and fine porcelains to carry across the sea; but the fleece from the sheep of Tennessee took the first prize over all raw wool, and our inventions excelled those of any other nation. A yacht built from the American forest won the gold cup in the races. And Queen Victoria good-naturedly acknowledged that the United States had again conquered Great Britain on the seas.

Transportation

1840

Department of the interior created

1845

The naval academy at Annapolis

1851

The first World's Fair at London

The first international regatta off Cowes, Isle of Wight

1851

Louis Kossuth

The Monroe
doctrine again
enforcedAn era of social
reformsThe tariff and
internal improve-
ments at federal
expense

1852

The national
conventions

About this time, Louis Kossuth came from Hungary to seek aid for his country against the combined oppression of Austria and Russia. He was received as a hero and martyr for liberty. A hundred thousand people gathered to greet him at the battery in New York where Hungarian flags twined with the stars and stripes. When Kossuth asked aid from the cities, money poured in, and troops began to volunteer to march to the plains of Hungary. At Washington, he was well received; but the Monroe doctrine had now become a part of our national policy. Congress would not pass any measures to interfere with European affairs, and, in the end, Kossuth sailed away without an American army.

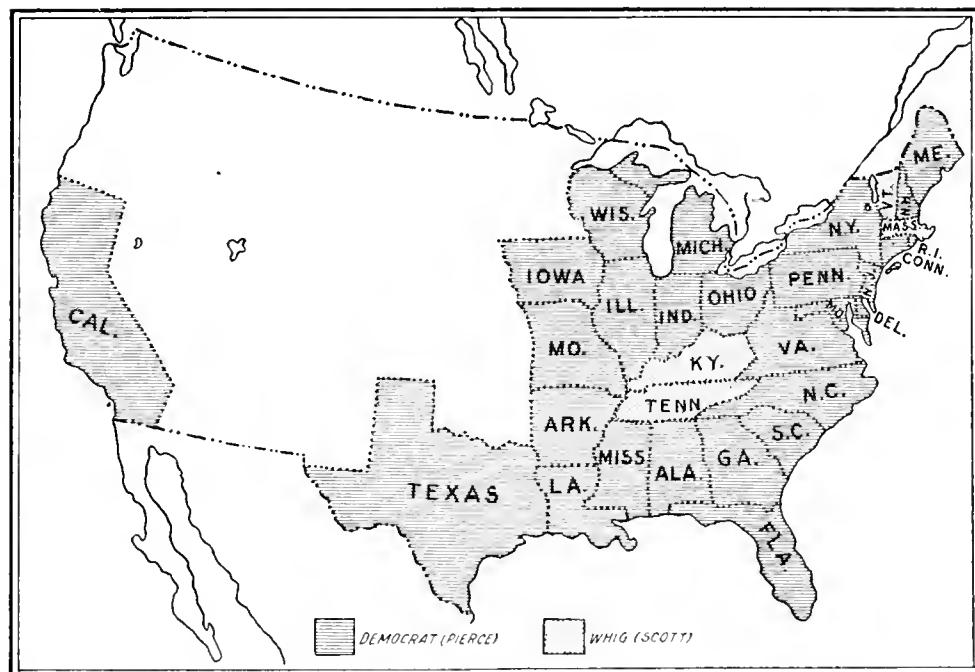
About this time many reforms were attempted. Temperance societies were organized to reform drunkards; benevolent societies found work for the unemployed; and the first "Woman's Rights" convention, under the leadership of Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, was held at Rochester, N. Y. It demanded reforms in the employment of women in the trades and professions, and protested against taxation without representation.

There was little difference between the Whigs and the Democrats after the compromise of 1850 except on the tariff question. The Whigs still advocated a tariff to protect American industries, and desired, from the surplus thus obtained, to continue internal improvements. The Democrats demanded tariff for revenue only. They distrusted the paternal or "nursing" system in developing the country.

The Whigs nominated General Winfield Scott for president; the Democrats, Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire; and the Free-soilers, John Parker Hale, also of New Hampshire. Before the election, Henry

Clay, the founder of the Whig party, the "prince of the Senate," the "Great Pacificator," died at Washington, and in a few weeks Daniel Webster, the "Defender of the Constitution," the "Parliamentary Hercules," died at his home in Marshfield. The death of these two leaders cast a gloom over their party. Many South-

Death of Henry Clay
and of Daniel
Webster



ELECTION OF 1852

ern Whigs went over to the Democrats. Many Northern Whigs would not vote at all.

Franklin Pierce, the Democrat, was elected president by a large majority. The candidate of the Free-soil party did not receive a single electoral vote. But, as we shall see, the country was on the eve of great political changes.

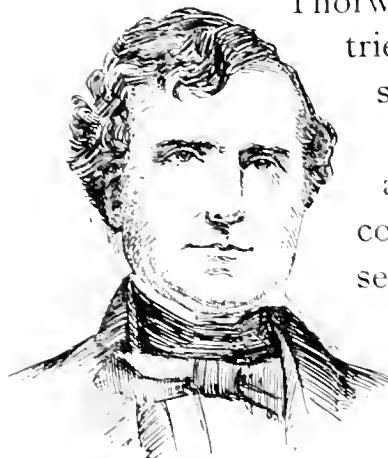
The eve of great
political changes

CHAPTER XXXIX

FRANKLIN PIERCE (FOURTEENTH PRESIDENT
1853-1857), DEMOCRATIC

1853

The World's Fair at
New York



FRANKLIN PIERCE
1804-1869

1851

The "filibusters"
in Cuba

Death of Lopez

PRESIDENT PIERCE's administration opened with the World's Fair in the Crystal Palace at New York City. The palace was even more beautiful than that of England, and spread over five acres. The marbles of Thorwaldsen from Denmark, the silks, laces, tapes- tries, and porcelains from France, and the chased silver, and china from England, Germany, Bel- gium, Holland, and Italy, made fine displays, and surpassed anything that the United States could show. But in labor-saving inventions, in sewing machines, steam printing presses, reaping and mowing machines, and all kinds of farming implements, our country was far in advance of any other.

About this time Cuba came into public notice.

There had been many secret expeditions to conquer the island, and annex it to the Union as a slave State. One band of "filibusters," who thought the natives were ready to rebel, was led by Lopez, a Spaniard. Lopez, planning to found a republic, and then offer Cuba for an- nexation to the United States on certain terms, started secretly from New Orleans with about five hundred young Americans. The natives, however, feared to take up arms against the Spanish government. Lopez was seized at Havana, and put to death. The most of his com-panions were sent to Spain to work in the mines.

The cotton States desired the fertile island greatly. They said that Cuba, in the possession of Spain, endan-

gered our country; if the Spaniards freed their slaves, it would cause a revolution among the negroes of the South.

France and England sympathized with Spain in her struggle to keep her colony, and proposed that the United States join a compact guaranteeing Cuba to Spain forever. Edward Everett, the secretary of state, replied that the president could not see with indifference the island in the possession of any other European government than Spain; that the American government would consider the acquisition of Cuba by force a disgrace to the civilization of the age; but if the Cubans achieved their own independence and wished to be annexed to the United States, there should be no compact to prevent this. In fact, the Monroe doctrine, that the United States would make no political alliance with European powers concerning the western continent, was insisted upon.

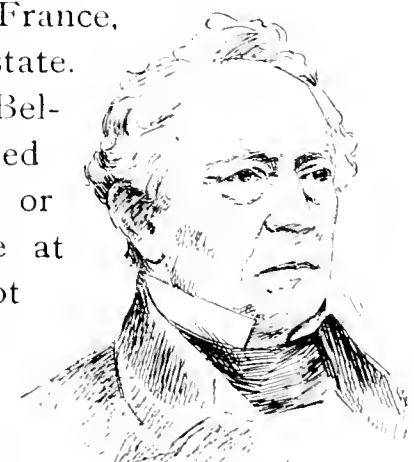
The American ministers to Great Britain, France, and Spain went further than the secretary of state. They met of their own accord at Ostend, Belgium, and drew up resolutions that the United States should have Cuba either by purchase or conquest. This declaration created surprise at home and abroad. President Pierce did not accept the opinion of his foreign ministers; yet he felt it would add to the glory of his administration if the United States might purchase Cuba. Spain conceded that the United States might win the "Queen of the Antilles" by war, but said she would not think for a moment of selling the island Columbus had found. She threatened to arm her slaves against an invader, and sent six thousand additional troops to defend her possession.

France and Great Britain propose to guarantee Cuba as a province of Spain forever

The Monroe doctrine applied in the Cuban question

1854

The "Ostend manifesto" is published



EDWARD EVERETT
1794-1865

Spain refuses to sell Cuba

Stephen A. Douglas
introduces the
Kansas-Nebraska bill

The Platte country

1820

Jefferson Davis

William H. Seward
and Charles Sumner

But troubles at home were distracting the attention of the people from foreign questions. The same year that the Ostend manifesto was published, Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, introduced the Kansas-Nebraska bill in Congress. The unorganized territory west of the Mississippi, drained by the Platte and Missouri Rivers, comprised Kansas, Nebraska, North and South Dakota, Montana, and a part of Colorado and Wyoming. It was larger than all the free States east of the Rocky Mountains. By the Missouri Compromise,¹ slavery within its borders was prohibited.

But the senator from Illinois asked that the country be divided into two territories to be called Kansas and Nebraska; that the Missouri Compromise, by which the soil north of parallel $36^{\circ} 30'$ was "forever" devoted to freedom, be declared void; and that Kansas and Nebraska should both come into the Union, with or without slavery, as their constitutions might prescribe. You will remember that this "local option" was the compromise agreed upon for Utah and New Mexico by Clay's "Omnibus bill."²

The Kansas-Nebraska bill, which repealed the Missouri Compromise, created immense excitement. Douglas was a good debater, and Jefferson Davis led the ranks of those who had always believed that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional.

The Whigs realized the effect of the bill. "We are on the eve of a great national transaction," said William H. Seward, "a transaction that will close a cycle in the history of our country." "This bill puts Freedom and Slavery face to face and bids them grapple," said Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts.

¹ See page 215.

² See page 250.

Horace Greeley, of the New York *Tribune*, Charles A. Dana, of the New York *Sun*, Thurlow Weed, of the Albany *Journal*, and William Cullen Bryant, of the *Evening Post*, wrote editorials against the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Protesting memorials poured into Congress, yet the bill passed both houses, and was signed by President Pierce.

Meantime Kansas, on the border of the slave States, invited immigration. Her neighbors across the Missouri River stood ready the moment the Kansas-Nebraska bill should be signed to dedicate the territory to slavery.

The Kansas prairies were adapted to the cultivation of corn, wheat, and pasturage, which was the Northern method of farming, and with the hope of securing the territory for freedom, emigration from the North began as soon as Kansas was opened for settlement. Bureaus to aid the movement were established, and contributions were made. "It is better to do something for free labor than talk of auction blocks and bloodhounds," said the leaders. Emigrants took up their line of march from Massachusetts, and, before the year was out, several thousand Free-soilers camped in Kansas as actual settlers. They lived in rudely built cabins, or tents, and founded Lawrence, Topeka, and other towns.

Slaveholders attempted to settle the prairies. They founded Atchinson, Lecompton, and other towns; but the climate was not favorable for cotton, and, if the State should be admitted free, they ran the risk of losing what slaves they might take with them. Many proslavery men drove stakes into the ground to hold their claims, and returned to Missouri to await elections. At the election for a territorial legislature, more than three hundred proslavery men, armed with bowie knives and revolvers,

The press in the
North opposes the
Kansas-Nebraska bill

1854
The Kansas-
Nebraska bill
becomes a law

1853
Immigration of
antislavery families
to Kansas

Immigration of
proslavery families

"Squatter claims"
1855
The "border
ruffians" at the
Kansas territorial
election (March)

The Topeka
constitution

crossed over from Missouri and marched to the polls. Most of the proslavery candidates were elected to the legislature, which adopted the slavery laws of Missouri.

The antislavery settlers refused to recognize this version of "State rights." They armed themselves, and met at Topeka in convention. They wrote out a free State constitution, which was ratified by their party, elected their State officers, and asked Congress to admit Kansas as a free State.

Proslavery delegates met at Lecompton, and wrote out a constitution for a slave State. Meanwhile factions all over the country looked forward to the day when the Territory of Kansas would be admitted into the Union as a free or slave State.

After the Kansas-Nebraska bill became a law, many voters left the two great parties. The Native American party became prominent. It was a secret organization, having several degrees of membership, and called Know-nothings, because only members of the high degrees knew the secrets. The Know-nothings were hostile to illiterate foreigners, who, they said, were robbing American citizens of work, and having too much power at the ballot box; they demanded that an immigrant should live in America twenty-one years before he could be naturalized.

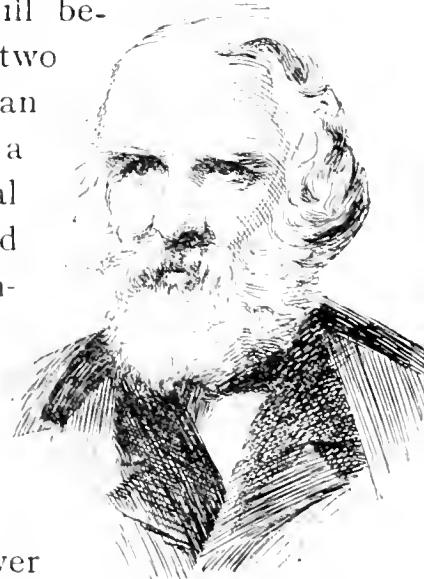
Meanwhile the antislavery element in politics had been steadily increasing. Escaped negroes, seized by

The native
Americans, or
"Know-nothings"

Sympathy for
fugitive slaves



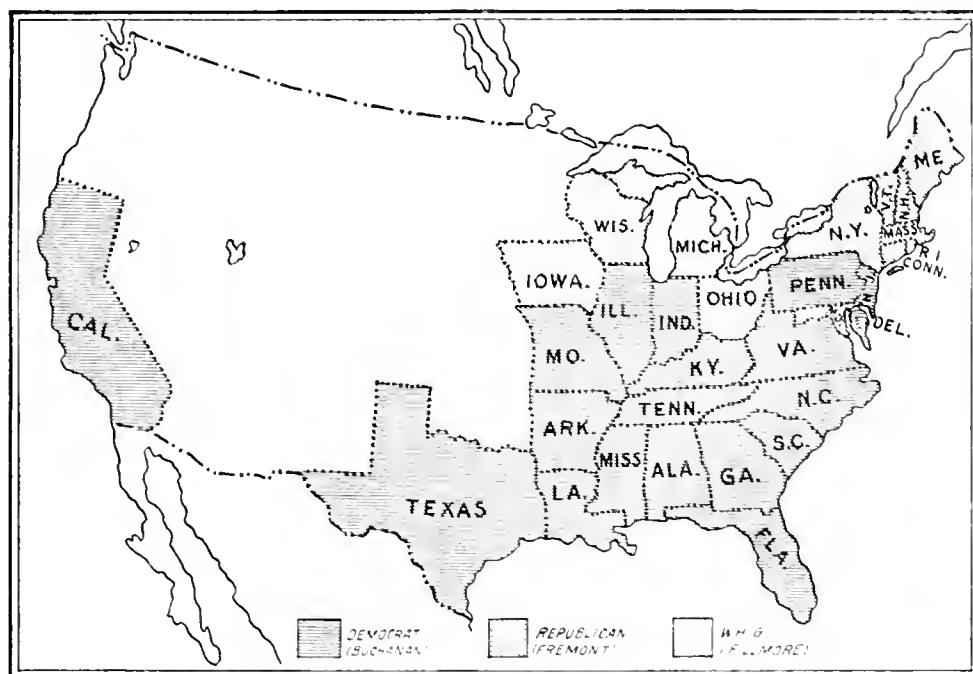
HARRIET BEECHER STOWE
1811-1896



HENRY W. LONGFELLOW
1807-1882

United States marshals in the North, and carried back to bondage under the fugitive slave law, created sympathy for their sufferings. "Uncle Tom's Cabin," a story of slavery in the South, by Harriet Beecher Stowe, had much influence for the cause of freedom. At last, many antislavery Democrats, antislavery Whigs, Free-soilers, and Know-nothings, united under the name of the

"Uncle Tom's Cabin"



ELECTION OF 1856

National Republican party. They were called "Black Republicans" by the Democrats, because they favored the negroes.

At the national conventions¹ the American party nominated Millard Fillmore, of New York, for the presidency; the Democrats, James Buchanan, of Penn-

1856

The Republican party organized February 22

1856

The national conventions

¹The great question at issue in the political campaign called many to public platforms. "I was losing interest in politics when the repeal of the Missouri Compromise aroused me," said Abraham Lincoln, the antislavery Whig, who cast his vote with the new Republican party.

Abraham Lincoln becomes again interested in politics

sylvania; and the Republicans, John C. Fremont, of California.

This campaign was even more exciting than that of "Tippecanoe." There were "Rocky Mountain" Glee clubs and pioneer axes in the processions. The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States were printed, and scattered all over the country.

Longfellow, Bryant, George William Curtis, Washington Irving, Emerson, and other distinguished men of the North wrote and spoke for freedom. Yet James Buchanan was elected president, with John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, vice-president.

CHAPTER XL

JAMES BUCHANAN (FIFTEENTH PRESIDENT, 1857-1861)

DEMOCRATIC

1857

The Dred Scott decision of the Supreme Court (March 6)



JAMES BUCHANAN
1791-1868

Two days after the inauguration of James Buchanan, the famous Dred Scott decision was handed down from the United States Supreme Court. Dred Scott, a negro slave of Missouri, had been brought into the free State of Illinois, and afterward taken into Minnesota. In about four years he was taken back to Missouri. When he was whipped by his master, he sued him for assault and battery. The negro claimed that having lived on free soil, he was not a slave when he returned to Missouri.

Carried from court to court, the case finally reached the Supreme Court. Chief Justice Roger B. Taney announced as the decision of this

court of last resort that Dred Scott was a chattel, and his owner might carry him to *any part* of the country, as he would any other piece of property; that the negro could not have citizenship under the Constitution, and therefore had no recourse to the courts; and he declared that the Missouri Compromise, which devoted to freedom the territory north of 36° 30', was unconstitutional.

Thus the Northwest Territory, set aside to liberty forever by the ordinance of 1787, was declared the possible home for slaves.

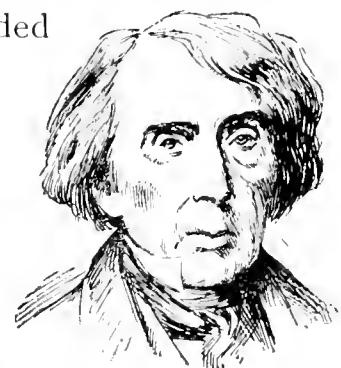
Dred Scott himself was soon after set free by his master; but the decision of the Supreme Court tended to strengthen the cause of slavery.

Meantime a few men in Kansas, with the aid of President Buchanan, tried to force the Lecompton constitution upon Kansas Territory in spite of the votes of the majority of its citizens. This was carrying things so far that the Northern Democrats, with Douglas, the author of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, as their leader, cried out against it.

The State elections, following these troubrous events, showed Republican rule supreme in New England, and gaining in the Northwestern States. In Illinois the candidate of the Democrats for senator was Stephen A. Douglas, for re-election, and that of the Republicans was Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln believed that the Constitution did not interfere with such slave States as already existed, but declared it was a national crime to extend slavery into the Territories. And so Douglas and Lincoln carried on a joint discussion throughout Illinois upon the questions of slavery in the Territories, popular sovereignty, and the Dred Scott decision. Douglas was elected, for Illinois had long been divided on the subject of slavery. But, as we shall see, the compromises

Chief Justice
Taney's opinion on
the constitutionality
of the Missouri
Compromise

The Dred Scott
decision strengthens
the cause of slavery



ROGER BROOKE TANEY
1777-1864

1858

Stephen A. Douglas
and Abraham
Lincoln, candidates
for the United
States Senate

The debates of
Douglas and Lincoln

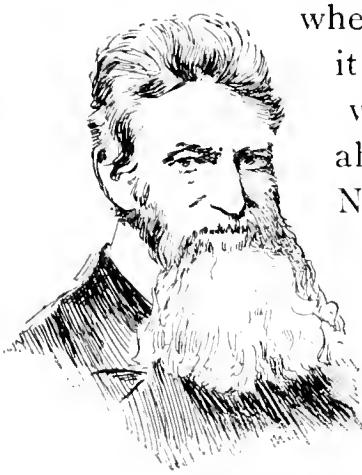
which Douglas was forced to make to win in this race defeated him later on for the presidency.

"Honest Abe" became the standard bearer of the Republicans of the West. He had said in accepting his nomination: "A house divided against itself can not stand, I believe this government can not endure permanently half slave and half free. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the farther spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South."¹

The congressional campaigns throughout the country were exciting. In many open-air meetings there were riots. "I have witnessed the beginning of this government," said the aged General Lewis Cass, "and I sometimes think I may witness its end."

About this time an event occurred which increased the political excitement. John Brown, of Connecticut, a descendant of the Pilgrims, and inheriting from them an intense love of liberty, moved to Kansas during the border warfare, and took part in the struggle for statehood. He detested slavery, and could not wait for the slow development of public opinion which would abolish it. He was very active in the "Underground Railroad," a system of rescue stations by which fugitive slaves were assisted to Canada, and thus made free.

Then that he might be of still greater service in the cause, he settled near Harper's Ferry, Va. With about



JOHN BROWN
1800-1859

John Brown in
Kansas

The "underground
railroad"

1859
John Brown at
Harper's Ferry

¹ Read Nicolay and Hay's "Life of Lincoln."

twenty followers he attacked the national arsenal at Harper's Ferry to secure weapons with which to arm the slaves against their masters. He was captured by Colonel Robert E. Lee, of the regular army, tried for treason, and hanged.

On the day of his death he wrote, "I, John Brown, am now quite certain that the crimes of this guilty land will never be purged away but with blood. I had, as I now think, vainly flattered myself that without very much bloodshed it might be done." Some orators in the North, between hisses and cheers, called Harper's Ferry the "Lexington of a civil war." But many Northern men condemned Brown's raid as an "insane piece of folly."

Meantime Kansas, torn with party strife, still lingered outside the Union; but Minnesota and Oregon added two free States, so that when the Thirty-sixth Congress opened, there were eighteen free States and fifteen slave States. The extreme Democrats came into this Congress pledged to repeal the act against the importation of slaves.

When the time for the national conventions arrived, the Republicans met at Chicago. "Honest Abe" Lincoln, the idol of his party in the West, had gained strength in the East by some great speeches. One masterpiece of logic was delivered at Cooper Institute, New York. Horace Greeley said of it: "I do not hesitate to pronounce it the very best political address to which I ever listened." Lincoln was prominent in the convention from the first. Others who led in the nominations were William H. Seward, of New York, Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, and Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio. Ballots changed until Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, was offered the highest place in the gift of his party.

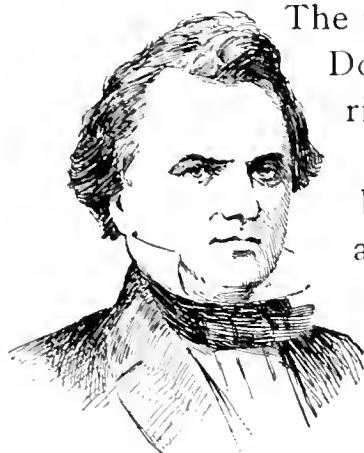
Admission of
Minnesota 1858; and
Oregon 1859

1859
The Thirty-sixth
Congress

1860
The Republican
convention at
Chicago nominates
Abraham Lincoln
(May)

The Democratic convention at Charleston (April)

The Democrats at Baltimore nominate Stephen A. Douglas (June)



STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS
1813-1861

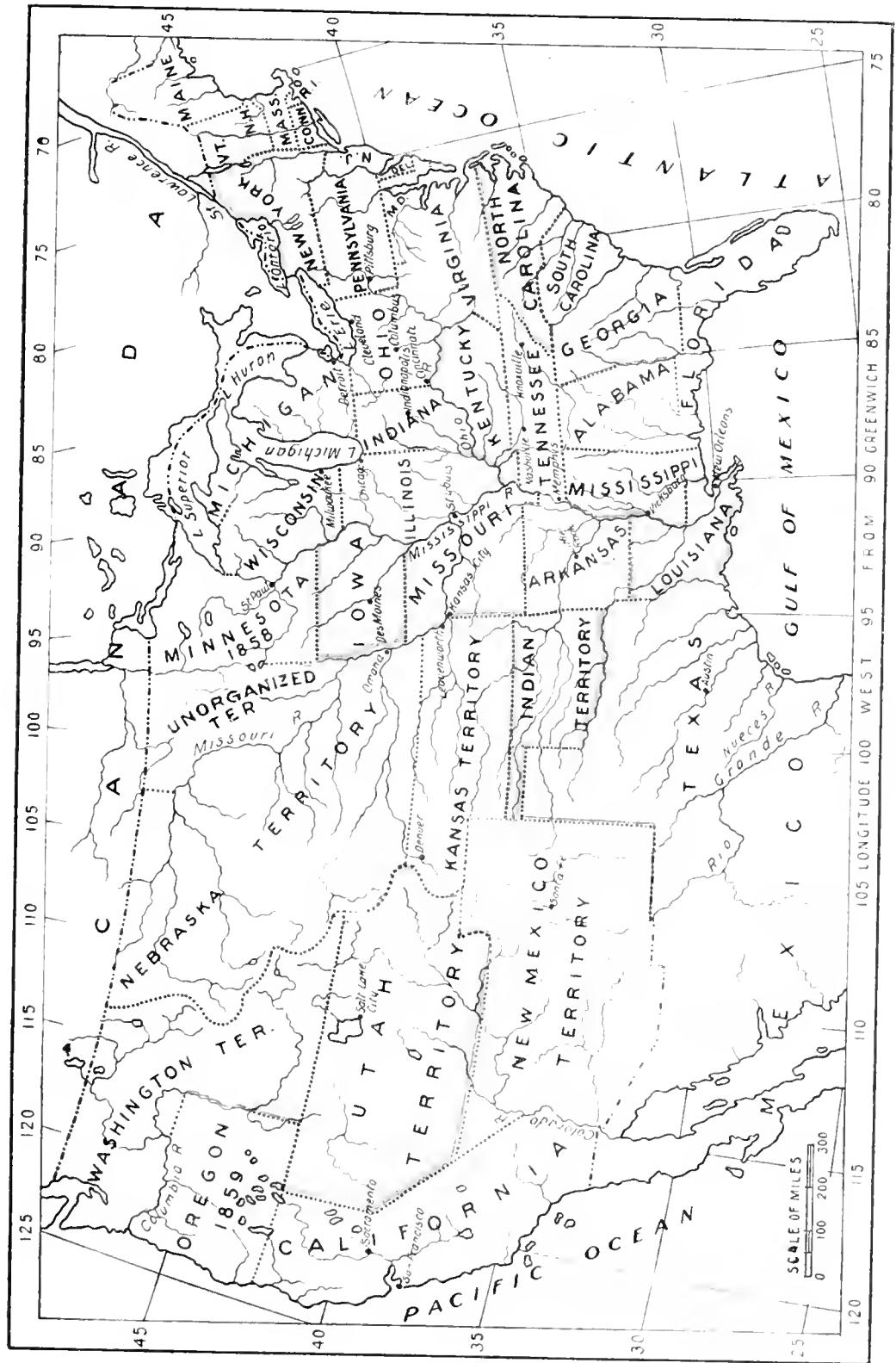
The Constitutional Union party nominates John Bell

The Democrats met at Charleston, S. C. It is said that many delegates from the North saw there, for the first time, the auction block for slaves, and that the sight had a serious effect on their political views. For various reasons there was lack of harmony in the Charleston convention. It made no nominations, and adjourned to meet at Baltimore.

The convention at Baltimore split into two factions. The majority of the Democrats nominated Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois. They declared that each Territory, when framing the State constitution, should decide the question of slavery within its own borders; and that Congress had no right to abolish slavery in the Territories.

The seceding Democrats nominated John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky. Their platform declared it to be the duty of Congress to protect slavery wherever a slaveholder carried his slaves. Both factions asserted that Cuba should be acquired by the United States.

Some Know-nothings and Whigs formed the Constitutional Union party, and nominated John Bell, of Tennessee, with a platform which tried to ignore the slavery question.



UNITED STATES IN 1860

CHAPTER XLI

JAMES BUCHANAN (1857-1861) (CONTINUED)

DEMOCRATIC

THE two great parties in the coming campaign were the Republicans with "Protective tariff and freedom in the Territories!" as the battle cry, and the Democrats with "Free trade and popular sovereignty!"

Douglas took "the stump," and made eloquent speeches all over the country. But Lincoln with admirable tact drew many to his standard. There were rail-splitting battalions, with mauls and axes to recall how Lincoln had once split rails for his living. There were "Wide-awake" clubs, uniformed in oilcloth caps and capes, and carrying torches. There were floats of flatboats and log cabins. And when the processions were over, the crowds drew up in line before some of the eloquent speakers to hear the great issues of the day discussed. Each party desired to preserve the Constitution. Each claimed to desire to hold the Union together. But, one scholar has declared, it all seemed as Thucydides said of the Greeks at the time of the Peloponnesian war: "They did not understand one another any longer. Though they spoke the same language, words received a different meaning in different sections."

At last, the battle of words was at an end. Abraham Lincoln was elected president.

There was the greatest gloom in the South. On the 18th of December, a salute of fifteen guns, one for each slave State, welcomed a State convention at Charleston, S. C., which, two days after, adopted the Ordinance

Protective tariff and free-soil Territories versus free trade and popular sovereignty in the Territories

"Wide-awake" clubs

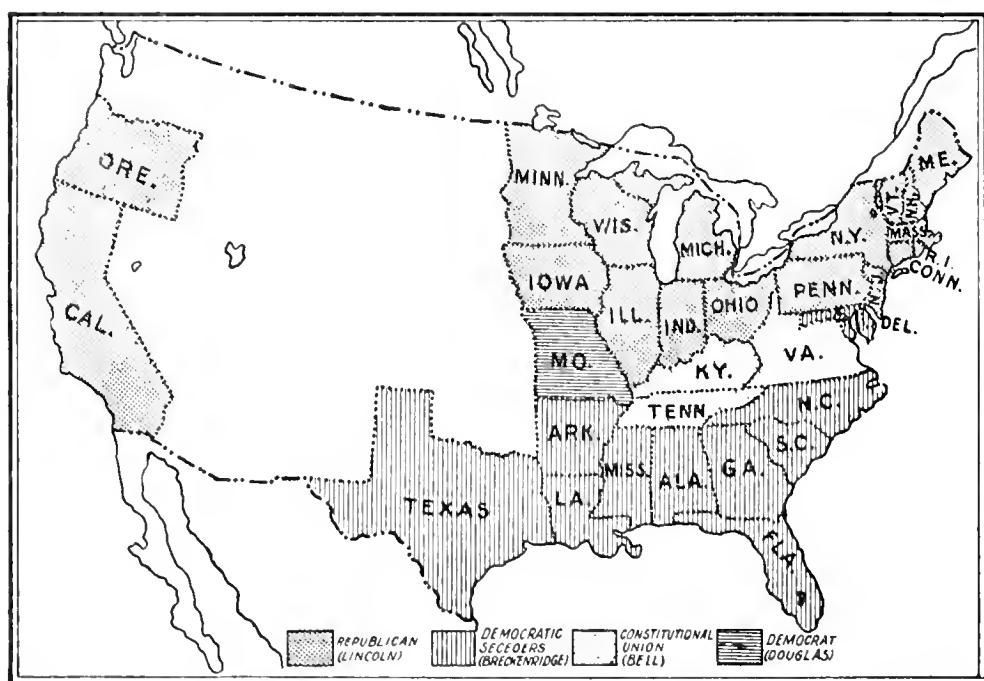
Abraham Lincoln
elected president
1860

The State convention
at South Carolina
adopts the Ordinance
of Secession
(December 20)

of Secession, and issued a declaration of independence. Liberty poles were set up, and a banner, representing the fifteen States, was unfurled from the capitol.

Alexander H.
Stephens advises
redress of grievances
by appeal to
Congress

The chief cause cited for the act of secession was the election of an antislavery president who had said that a nation could not endure half slave and half free. Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, the wisest statesman of the South, said he did not think the election of Lincoln



ELECTION OF 1860

a reason for seceding; that redress should be first demanded in Congress, and not a few other Southern statesmen agreed with him.

South Carolina, however, soon floated the palmetto flag over the United States buildings; news from the North was put under the head of "foreign" in the newspapers, and commissioners were sent to Washington to demand recognition for South Carolina as an independent State.

Before the close of January, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Florida, and Texas had also withdrawn from the Union. In February, the seceding States held a convention at Montgomery, Ala., and adopted a constitution for the "provisional government of the Confederate States of America," which was much like that of the United States, changed to permit slavery in the Territories.

Jefferson Davis was elected president. In his inaugural address, he developed the policy of a confederacy of planters who should be independent of commercial and manufacturing communities. Alexander H. Stephens was elected vice-president. He was at heart a strong unionist, but, like Robert E. Lee and many other noble men of the South, was induced to support disunion through loyalty to his section. On Washington's birthday, Castle Pinckney, which had been seized by the militia of South Carolina, fired thirteen guns beneath the Palmetto flag, while Fort Sumter, across the harbor, with stars and stripes flying, gave the national salute of twenty-one guns.

The new government sent a commission across the sea to secure recognition in Europe. It was argued that the British government would aid the South. England wished free trade; the South would give free trade. England must have cotton for the spindles of her factories; the South could furnish it cheaper and of finer quality than any other country in the world. England wished a close ally to guard her British West Indies; the South, their nearest neighbor, would form an Anglo-American alliance for peace or war. It was also argued that France would recognize the

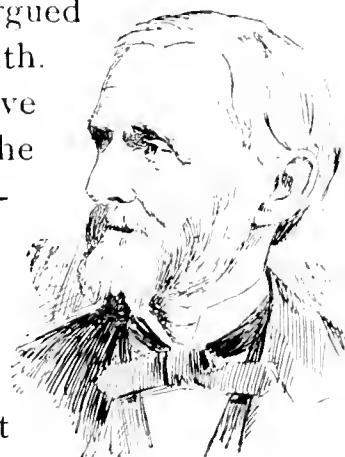


ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS
1812-1883

1861

Seven other States withdrawn from the Union (January).
The Constitutional convention (February).

The government of the Confederate States of America organized with Jefferson Davis, president, and Alexander H. Stephens, vice-president
February 18



JEFFERSON DAVIS
1808-1889

Commissioners sent
to Europe to secure
recognition and aid
for the Confederacy

Confederacy for much the same commercial reasons as Great Britain. The commissioners from the Confederate States of America set sail with high hopes.

All these months, it was feared that the border States between the free States and the Gulf States would join the conspiracy against the Union. Frantic appeals were made to Lincoln to agree that Congress should restore the Missouri Compromise line. But he stood firm in what he believed to be right. He said that he had no intention of interfering with the institution of slavery in the States, but by their votes the people had declared that no free soil owned by the nation should become slave, and it would be his duty to execute the people's will.

Meanwhile several members of President Buchanan's cabinet, whose sympathies were with secession, resigned. Their successors were loyal to the government, and urged the president to action. A merchant vessel with about two hundred and fifty men was sent to Major Robert Anderson, commander of Fort Sumter.¹ The ship was fired on by the South Carolina militia, and, turning about, sailed to New York.

General Scott, secretary of war, now urged sending a man-of-war to the forts, but the president was determined that hostilities should not break out during the remainder of his administration.

On his way from Illinois to Washington President-elect Lincoln stopped at Philadelphia. He unfurled the Union flag—now with thirty-four stars since waiting Kansas had been admitted—before an immense concourse in Independence Hall. “There will be no

Changes in
Buchanan's cabinet

1861
Kansas admitted
(January 29)



ABRAHAM LINCOLN
1809-1865

¹ See map, page 275.

bloodshed," he said, "unless it be forced upon the government, and then the government will be forced to act in self-defense."

As president-elect of the United States, Lincoln was about to take solemn oath "to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States,"¹ and as military commander-in-chief he had the power to call out the whole army and navy to secure the "faithful execution of the laws."

The newly elected governors of many Northern States, certain that war was imminent, bought arms and equipments, ordered the militia to drill, and selected sites for camps.

Lincoln's speech in
Independence Hall

¹ See Constitution of the United States, Article 11, Appendix.



		The commercial convention at Annapolis The Constitutional convention at Philadelphia The Constitution ratified by the States George Washington elected president of the United States The First Congress under the Constitution
Formation of the government	Judicial Department	{ Supreme judge Five associate judges
	Executive Department	{ President Secretary of State Secretary of the Treasury Secretary of War Attorney-General
The Administrations		Tariff laws Assumption and bonding of debts National bank chartered Internal revenue taxes
George Washington Federalist 1789-1797	Domestic	{ The first census Northwest Territory organized Indian wars
	Foreign	{ Jay treaty Commercial treaty with Spain Proclamation of neutrality in war between England and France
John Adams Federalist 1797-1801	Domestic	{ Alien and Sedition laws Political parties { Federalist Democratic-Republican
	Foreign	{ Naval war with France
Thomas Jefferson Democratic-Republican 1801-1809	Domestic	{ Explorations Fulton's steamboat
	Foreign	{ Purchase of Louisiana War with Tripoli Embargo Act Non-intercourse Act
James Madison Democratic-Republican 1809-1817	Domestic	{ Tecumseh's war
	Foreign	{ War with Great Britain { Defeat in Northwest Naval victories Burning of public buildings at Washington Treaty of Ghent
James Monroe Democratic-Republican 1817-1825	Domestic	{ Era of good feeling Development of the West Protective tariff Missouri Compromise
	Foreign	{ Purchase of Florida from Spain The "Monroe Doctrine"
John Quincy Adams National Republican 1825-1829	Domestic	{ The "Tariff of Abominations" Internal improvement
	Foreign	{ }

IV THE EPOCH OF NATIONALITY. 1783-1861.

(CONCLUDED)

<p>The Administrations</p>	<p>Domestic</p>		<p>“Rotation in office” Nullification doctrine War on bank of the United States The first national convention Tariff compromise The Whig party Abolition societies Inventions Indian wars</p>	
	<p>Foreign</p>		<p>France and other foreign nations pay indemnities</p>	
	<p>Domestic</p>		<p>Commercial panic The subtreasuries</p>	
	<p>Foreign</p>		<p></p>	
	<p>Domestic</p>		<p>The Morse telegraph</p>	
	<p>Foreign</p>		<p>Webster-Ashburton treaty Annexation of Texas</p>	
	<p>Domestic</p>		<p>Free-soil party Gold discovered in California</p>	
	<p>Foreign</p>		<p>General Taylor General Kearney General Scott John C. Fremont</p>	
	<p>Domestic</p>		<p>Palo Alto Resaca de la Palma Monterey Buena Vista</p>	
	<p>Foreign</p>		<p>Santa Fé Vera Cruz Cerro Gordo Chapultepec Mexico</p>	
	<p>Domestic</p>		<p>California</p>	
	<p>Domestic</p>		<p>The “Forty-niners” Slavery compromise Social reforms</p>	
	<p>Foreign</p>		<p></p>	
	<p>Domestic</p>		<p>World’s Fair at New York The Kansas-Nebraska bill The Know-nothing party The Republican party</p>	
	<p>Foreign</p>		<p>Filibusters in Cuba Spain refuses to sell Cuba</p>	
	<p>Domestic</p>		<p>Dred Scott decision Debates of Lincoln and Douglas John Brown at Harper’s Ferry The Confederate States of America</p>	
	<p>Foreign</p>		<p></p>	



CHAPTER XLII

ABRAHAM LINCOLN (SIXTEENTH PRESIDENT, 1861-1865) REPUBLICAN

1861

President Lincoln's
inaugural address
(March 4)

Robert Toombs

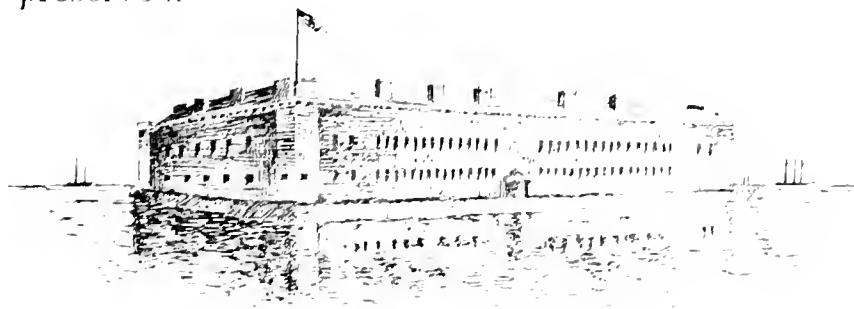
Firing on Fort
Sumter (April 12)

In his inaugural address, President Lincoln said to the South: "The government will not assail you; you can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors."

So when Jefferson Davis and his cabinet learned that President Lincoln had decided to hold Fort Sumter and send provisions to the garrison, it was a grave question what to do. The Confederate leader agreed with Robert Toombs, his secretary of state, that "firing upon the fort would inaugurate a civil war greater than any the world had yet seen."

But Charleston insisted on an attack unless Major Anderson would evacuate Fort Sumter. General Beauregard, the Confederate commander of the troops at Charleston, demanded the surrender of the fort. Major Anderson refused to comply. On April 12, 1861, the

bombardment began. Two days later Fort Sumter surrendered; but from its battered walls arose a united North. Douglas, of Illinois, united with Lincoln, of Illinois. The Northern Democrats united with the Northern Republicans. Again the "Star-spangled Banner" became the most popular song. The flag with its thirty-four stars became the symbol of the Union which *must* be preserved.



FORT SUMTER

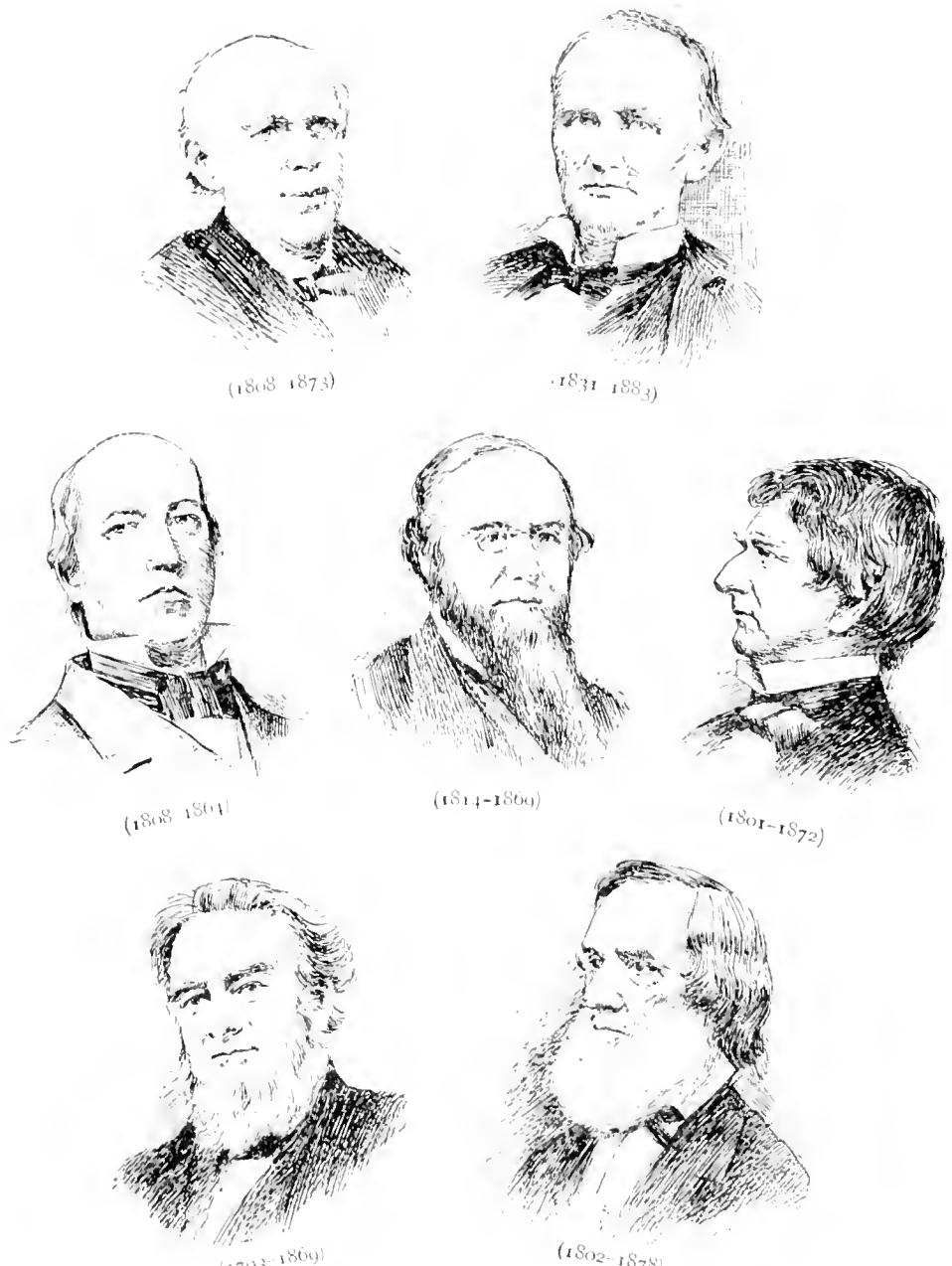
When President Lincoln called for seventy-five thousand troops, three hundred thousand men volunteered. Many in New York had tried to defeat Lincoln. They feared his election would cause secession, and thus ruin commerce. But now, press and people in that State rallied to the president's call to arms. The famous Seventh Regiment of New York marched proudly down Broadway, with the cheers of the people following them on their way to Washington; and the alacrity of the New York militia was equaled by the militia in other States.

The old Mason and Dixon's line, which, in King George's time, had been surveyed to settle the disputes between Maryland and Pennsylvania, was very nearly the dividing line on the slavery question. The

President Lincoln
calls for troops
(April 1)

1763-1767
Mason and Dixon's
line located





PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S WAR CABINET

SALMON PORTLAND CHASE,
of Ohio,
Treasury.

MONTGOMERY BLAIR,
of Maryland,
Postmaster General.

CALEB B. SMITH,
of Indiana,
Interior

EDWIN M. STANTON,
of the District of Columbia,
War.

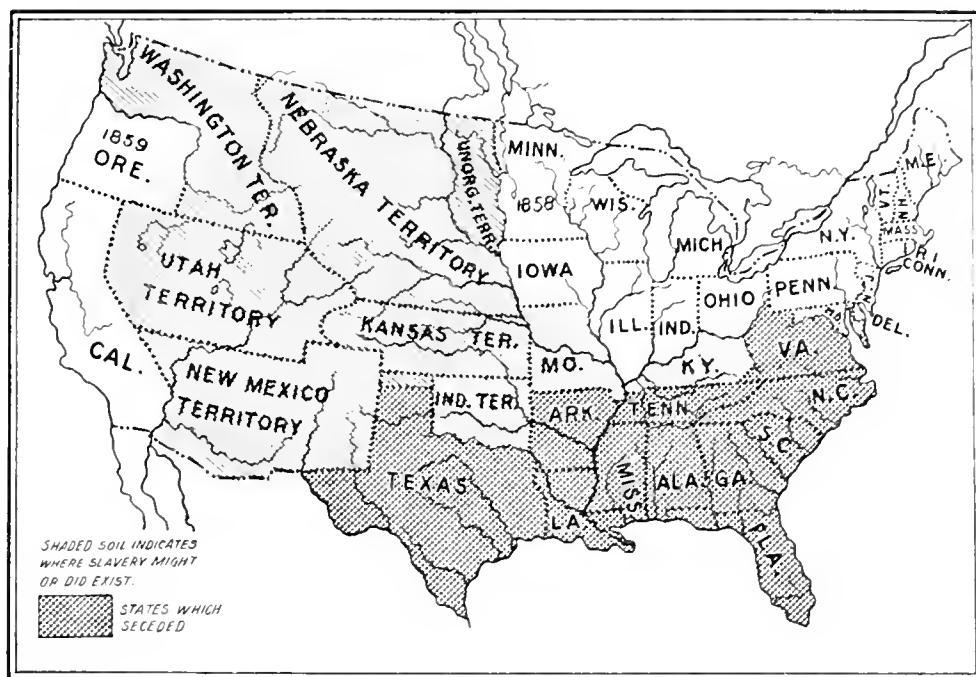
WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
of New York,
State.

EDWARD BATES,
of Missouri,
Attorney General.

GIDEON WELLES,
of Connecticut,
Navy.

States between the free States and the Gulf States sent no troops at the call of the president. They did not wish to secede from the Union; all refused to do so, at first, but they thought the government did not have the right to compel seceding States to come back into the Union, and, in the end, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas joined the Confederacy rather than take

Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas join the Confederacy.



MAP OF THE UNITED STATES IN 1851

up arms against it. Richmond was made the capital city, and when Jefferson Davis called for thirty-five thousand volunteers, many times that number poured into Richmond.

Forty-eight counties in the west part of Virginia had few slaves, and remained loyal to the government. They formed themselves into a Territory, and were later admitted into the Union as West Virginia.¹ Maryland and the east part of Tennessee remained loyal. Ken-

1861

Richmond is made
the capital of the
Confederacy

July 20

Maryland,
Kentucky, Missouri,
and Delaware
remain in the Union

¹ See pages 101, 306.

tucky, although there were many secessionists in her midst, did not forget the teachings of Clay, who had compromised so often to preserve the Union. Missouri, after many riots, decided to remain in the Union. Delaware, though a slave State, did not secede, and, after a time, mustered a regiment for Union service.

Eleven States versus
twenty-three States

And so twenty-three States were numbered in the Union and eleven in the Confederacy. There were about twenty-three million people in the one, and about eight million in the other, of whom nearly half were slaves.

The Union and the
Confederacy
compared

The Union had the regular army and navy at command. It had credit and standing abroad. Its factories, farms, and workshops could supply its needs for a long war. The Confederacy was like one vast plantation, dependent on foreign markets for everything except the simplest food. But the men of the South were trained to the use of arms from infancy, and were united firmly together in defense of their cause. "Did all Great Britain subdue our ancestors in seventeen hundred and seventy-six!" they cried.

The blockade of
the Southern ports
declared April 19

When President Lincoln declared a blockade of Southern ports so that no ships might go in or out, the Confederacy felt sure that Great Britain would break it, because the blockade meant a cotton famine. Her mills and factories would soon stand still, and, besides, she would lose an immense market for her manufactured goods.

But the Union declared that England had emancipated her own slaves; she had scoured the seas for years to prevent the slave traffic on the coast of Africa, and could not recognize the Confederacy whose corner stone was slavery. Had not the British press long reproached the United States for its system of slavery?

Charles Francis Adams, whose father and grandfather had been ministers to England, was sent there to plead the cause of liberty. The masses in Great Britain sided with the North.



WINFIELD SCOTT
1786-1866

The weavers of Lancashire said they would starve rather than join in the cry against the American Union. John Bright and Richard Cobden, the leaders of the Liberals in Parliament, strongly advocated the cause of freedom. But the manufacturers were in favor of the Southern republic. At last, Great Britain recognized the Confederacy as a belligerent power, but declared neutrality. France and other nations followed her example. This gave the Confederacy an equal war footing with the United States; and Confederate cruisers had an equal right to enter foreign harbors under the new flag.

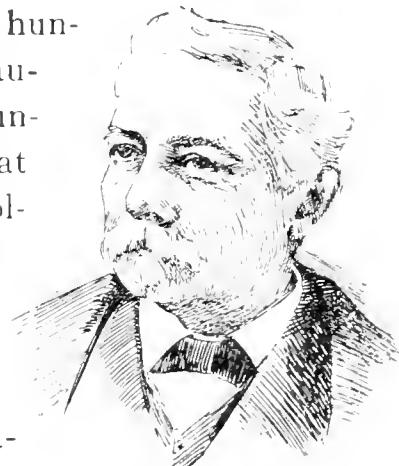
Early in July, Congress appropriated five hundred million dollars for war expenses, and authorized President Lincoln to call out five hundred thousand volunteers. There were at that time nearly two hundred thousand Union soldiers under arms. General Winfield Scott commanded the Union army, one division of which, under General Irwin McDowell, waited at Washington for orders; another, under General George B. McClellan, was stationed in western Virginia to watch the Confederate army under General Beauregard near Manassas Junction; another, under General Robert Patterson, stood guard near Harper's Ferry to prevent Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston from joining his forces with

Charles Francis Adams, minister to the court of St. James

John Bright and Richard Cobden advocate the cause of freedom

European powers grant belligerent rights to the Confederacy

1861
Special session of Congress at Washington (July 4)



G. T. BEAUREGARD
1818-1893

General Winfield Scott in command of the Union army

those of Beauregard; and still another, placed in November under General Henry Halleck, watched beyond the Alleghanies as far west as California.

There were several skirmishes in western Virginia in which the Federals were generally victorious. Then McDowell moved from Washington toward Richmond.

Defeat of the Union army at Manassas near Bull Run Creek
(July 21)

At Manassas Junction, on Bull Run Creek, Va., his forces were badly defeated by the Confederate army under Beauregard, assisted by Johnston with two brigades, in command of Kirby Smith and Jubal Early. The North was in dismay. The South was jubilant. Brave and fearless themselves, the Confederates said the "Yankees would back up to the North Pole before they would fight again."

Cotton famine in Great Britain

Meantime across the sea there was a cotton famine. The shops were closed and the spindles were silent; the cotton and the tobacco crops in the seceding States were gathered; but the blockade of President Lincoln stood in the way of commerce. Great Britain and France, by recognizing the independence of the South, might break the blockade, and secure a market for their wares, free from the burdensome tariff, which the North demanded. The Confederacy resolved to again seek foreign aid. And so, under cover of night, a ship sailed out of Charleston harbor, bearing James M. Mason and John Slidell, who were commissioned to urge armed intervention. At Havana, the men boarded the British steamer *Trent*, and were soon off for England and France. But Captain Wilkes trimmed the sails of a United States sloop-of-war, overhauled the *Trent* in the Bermuda Channel, and demanded the envoys. They were surrendered.

Mason and Slidell seized on the *Trent* (November 8)

The Confederacy rejoiced at this act. Surely Great Britain would now declare war. Impressionment on board

of neutral vessels had caused the War of 1812. British troops and cruisers were, indeed, sent to Canada to prepare for war. But the seizure on the *Trent* had been made without proper authority. On demand of the British government, Mason and Slidell were released, and friendly relations between Great Britain and the United States continued.

The South now began to despair of foreign aid. More recruits were called for, and the Confederate army gathered in larger numbers at Richmond.

In the North, General McClellan was given command of the troops east of the Ohio, and organized the "Army of the Potomac" at Washington. Soon after, on the retirement of Scott, McClellan was made commander in chief of all the armies of the United States.

In the West General Halleck, with headquarters at St. Louis, had full command, with General Don Carlos

Buell commanding what came to be called the "Army of the Ohio;" and General Ulysses S. Grant, the "Army of the Tennessee."

General Joseph E. Johnston was commander in chief of the Confederate armies, General Albert Sidney Johnston commanding the Confederate army in the West, with General Beauregard in charge of the defenses of the Mississippi.

Halleck determined to drive the Confederates from Kentucky; and in January a division of Buell's army under General George H. Thomas, fought a battle at Mill Spring, Ky., and drove the Confederates from that place into Tennessee.

Impression on a
neutral vessel



GEORGE BRINTON McCLELLAN
1826-1885

The Army of the
Potomac.



ULYSSES SIMPSON GRANT
1822-1885

General Joseph E.
Johnston

1862

Battle of Mill Spring
(January 1)



ANDREW HULL FOOTE
1806-1863

Capture of Fort Henry (February 6)
and Fort Donelson (February 16)

Shiloh, or Pittsburg Landing (April 6, 7)

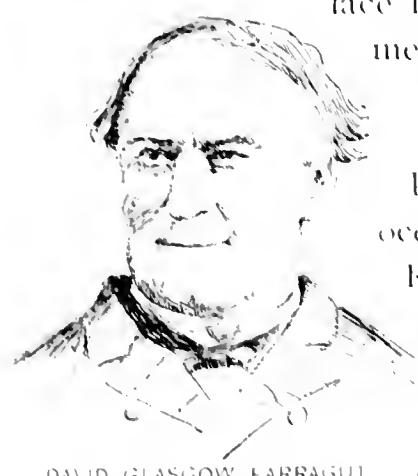
Corinth (May 30)
Iuka (September 10)

Grant moved from Cairo, Ill., up the Tennessee River to attack Ft. Henry. But before he could reach it, Commodore Andrew H. Foote had captured the fort with his gunboats. The Confederates then strengthened Ft. Donelson, twelve miles away on the Cumberland. Grant's army invested the fort. After three days of hard fighting, General Simon B. Buckner, commander of the fort, surrendered with fifteen thousand men.

The capture of Forts Donelson and Henry, by giving the Federals control of the Tennessee and the Cumberland, pushed the whole Confederate line out of Kentucky. Nashville, the capital of Tennessee, was soon occupied by Federal troops, and President Lincoln appointed Andrew Johnson military governor of that State.

The Confederates fell back to Corinth in northern Mississippi. Grant followed them, and was surprised by Albert S. Johnston at Shiloh Church near Pittsburg Landing. After terrible fighting, the Union troops retreated.

The following morning Generals Buell and Lew Wallace brought re-enforcements. The battle commenced again. The Confederate Johnston was killed; Beauregard, who succeeded him in command, retreated to Corinth, which was besieged and captured by Halleck; Iuka was occupied by a division of Grant's army under Rosecrans, who soon after repulsed Price at Corinth; and while the Union forces were thus pushing their way past the intrenchments in Kentucky and Tennessee, gunboats under Foote cleared the Mississippi



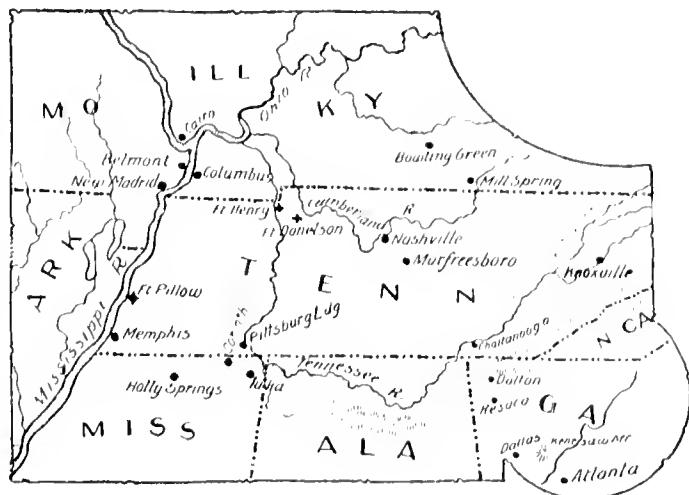
DAVID GLASGOW FARRAGUT
1808-1870

as far south as Vicksburg, which seemed quite impregnable.

Meantime Commodore David G. Farragut, with a fleet of forty vessels, carrying an army under command of General Benjamin F. Butler, forced his way up the Mississippi in the midst of tremendous firing from the forts on its banks. New Orleans surrendered. New Orleans surrenders
(April 25) Farragut soon gained control of the Mississippi except at Vicksburg and Port Hudson. Between these two forts the Confederates were supplied with provisions from the country west of the Mississippi.

Meanwhile in the East the Confederate ship *Merrimac* destroyed two United States frigates, and was waiting in Hampton Roads, near Norfolk, to destroy three others, and move on to Washington, when the little *Monitor*, invented by John Ericsson, of screw-propeller fame, attacked the *Merrimac*. The *Monitor* was a flat vessel with a revolving iron cylinder amidships, carrying two enormous guns. When the "cheese box on a raft," steamed up the bay, it received but little attention. But the ironclad *Merrimac* was soon driven to shelter from its battering balls, and the danger at Washington was over.

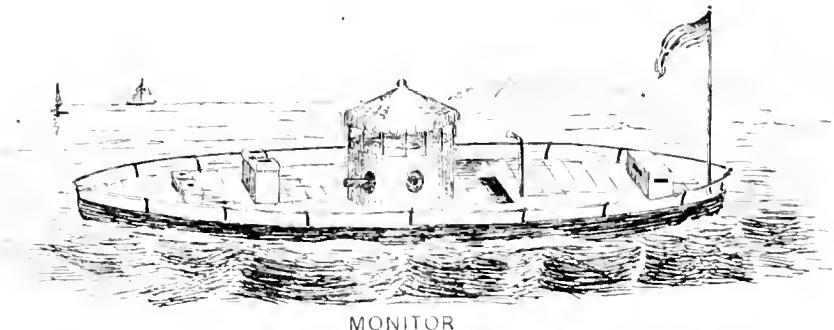
Both armies in the East were guarding their capitals. General Joseph E. Johnston expected an attack on Richmond by way of the Chesapeake, but General McClellan hesitated so long about leaving Washington that the people in the North laughingly said, as they met



The *Monitor* and
the *Merrimac*
(March 9)

The peninsular
campaign

in the streets, "All quiet along the Potomac!" The expense of the standing army was enormous. The loyal North began to get impatient. But at length the Eastern armies began fighting on the peninsula between the James and the York Rivers.



MONITOR

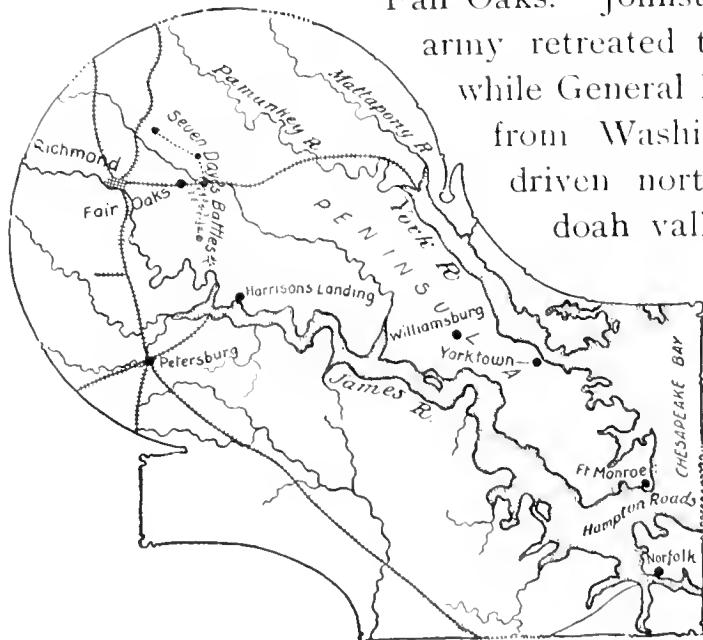
Yorktown taken
(May 4)
Williamsburg
(May 5)

Fair Oaks
(May 31 to June 1)

McClellan, expecting McDowell to meet him at Richmond by way of Fredericksburg, left Washington, and laid siege to Yorktown in April. The Confederates fell back from Yorktown and Williamsburg toward Richmond, with McClellan in pursuit. While the Union troops were waiting for aid from McDowell, General Joseph E. Johnston attacked a division of McClellan's army at Fair Oaks. Johnston was wounded, and his army retreated toward Richmond. Mean-

while General McDowell, while on his way from Washington to Richmond, was driven northward out of the Shenandoah valley by General T. J. Jack-

son. After Johnston was wounded, General Robert E. Lee took command of the army of Northern Virginia. Lee was a skilful leader, and soon showed his West Point training. He attacked McClellan

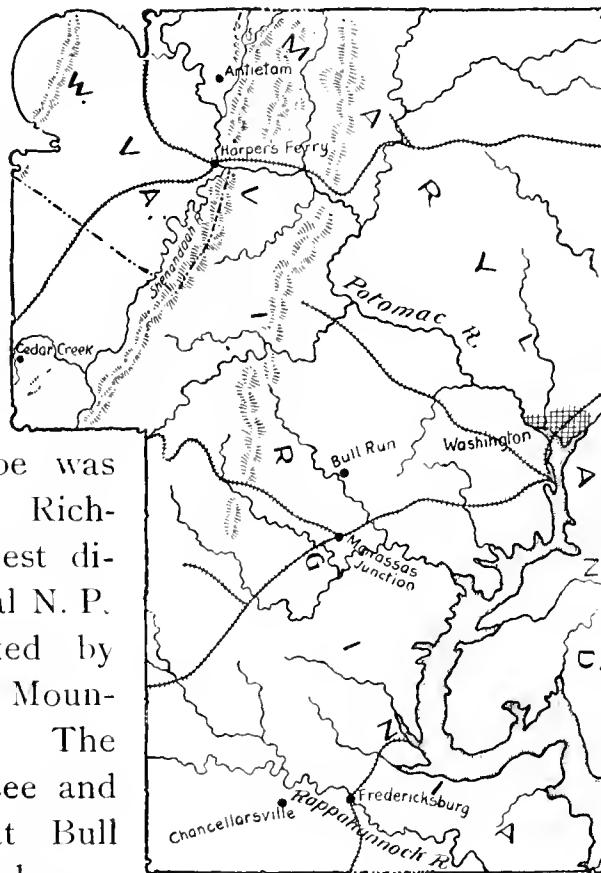


and fought the Seven Days' battles, resulting in the retreat of the Union army to Harrison's Landing on the James.

1862
Seven Days' battle
(June 25 to July 1)

President Lincoln now made a new levy of troops. The Union Army of Virginia was organized, stretching along the Rappahannock and Rapidan Rivers, with General Pope in command. Halleck was called from the West, and made commander of all the Union armies. McClellan was called to Washington with the Army of the Potomac, and Pope was moving on toward Richmond, when his west division, under General N. P. Banks, was attacked by Jackson at Cedar Mountain, and defeated. The united armies of Lee and Jackson engaged at Bull Run with Pope, who retreated to Washington, where his army was united with that of McClellan. Lee crossed the Potomac into Maryland. McClellan attacked him at Antietam Creek. Neither could claim victory after this terrible engagement.

Lee recrossed the Potomac into Virginia. McClellan followed, but so slowly that the command of his troops was taken from him, and given to General Ambrose E.



Cedar Mountain
(August 9)

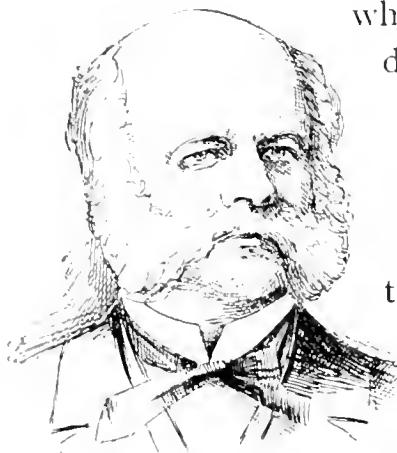
The second battle
of "Bull Run"
(August 28-30)

Antietam
(September 17)

Fredericksburg
(December 13)

The close of 1862

1862
Lincoln's first
emancipation
proclamation
(September 22)



AMBROSE E. BURNSIDE

1824-1881

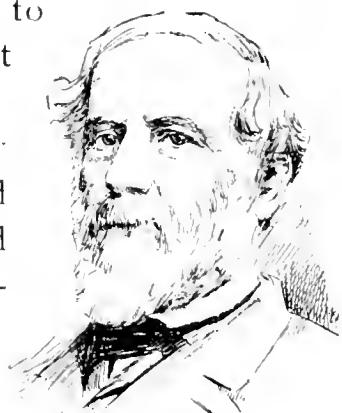
Negroes are
“contraband” of war

Burnside. Burnside was moving on toward Richmond when he was defeated with great loss at Fredericksburg, by Generals Lee and Jackson. The command of Burnside's army was then given to General Joseph Hooker, who went into winter quarters.

At the close of 1862, almost every fortification on the Mississippi had been taken by the Union forces, and their lines advanced across Tennessee, Missouri, and Arkansas as far south as the Arkansas River, while the situation in the East was about the same as in the beginning. The blockade on the coast was now stricter than ever, and not even medicine could be smuggled to the Southern ports.

Meantime, after the battle of Antietam, President Lincoln issued his first emancipation proclamation, wherein he gave the seceded States one hundred days to be legally represented in the Congress of the United States. By sending delegates they would show they were not in rebellion against the government. At the end of that time, those not so represented should be treated as rebels, and their slaves set free.

This was a war measure; the slaves were considered “contraband” of war, like gunpowder, or any other destructive agent; for by their forced labor in shop and field and fort building the negroes helped those who defied the federal government. President Lincoln did not consider that the Southern States were out of the Union, and the flag on the capitol still kept its thirty-four stars.



ROBERT E. LEE
1807-1870

To help pay the expenses of the war which cost sometimes more than two million dollars a day, Congress authorized the issue and circulation of United States notes. "Greenbacks" were notes bearing no interest. They were made legal tender in payment of public and private debts, except duties on imports and interest on the public debt. Bonds were notes bearing interest at the rate of five, six, or seven per cent. for twenty, thirty, or fifty years. A national banking system was established which increased the sale of these bonds. Congress created the office of "comptroller of the currency" as a bureau in the department of the treasury. The comptroller was authorized to issue charters to national banks. These banks were required to invest all their capital in United States bonds. Circulating notes to the amount of ninety per cent. of the bonds were furnished to the banks, to be issued by them as money. The interest on the bonds was paid to the banks in gold by the government.

The South was in great financial distress. Its war debts were paid in scrip which could only be redeemed in case of independence, and the value of the paper was less with every defeat. Taxes on the people were heavy. Credit was not yet good enough to secure a loan from Europe, and cotton and other produce could not be sold on account of the blockade. The Confederate army needed clothing and food. "If General Lee wants rations, let him go and get them in Pennsylvania," wrote the Confederate commissary general. And "On to the North" was the cry at Richmond.

United States
treasury notes and
bonds

1863
National banks
established

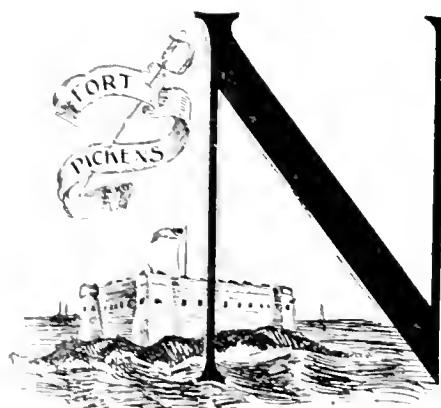


JOSEPH HOOKER
1814-1879

"On to the north"
for booty

CHAPTER XLIII

ABRAHAM LINCOLN (1861-1865) (CONTINUED) REPUBLICAN



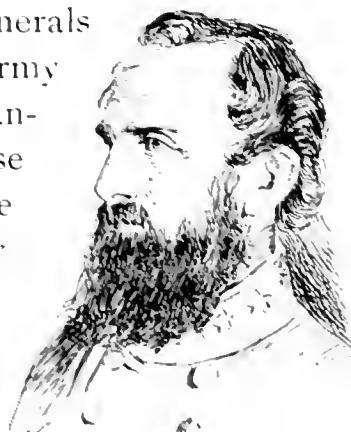
1863
The final
emancipation
proclamation
January 1

Union forces
defeated at
Chancellorsville, Va.
(May 1-4)

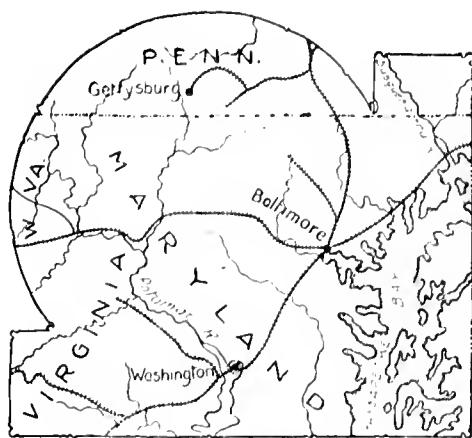
O seceding State sent representatives to Congress. Not one paid heed to President Lincoln's first emancipation proclamation. When, on January 1, the hundred-days' limit for the representation in Congress was over, the president issued his final proclamation of emancipation. The negroes in the seceding States were thus considered freedmen, and, as fast as the Union army gained control in the South, their masters were obliged to give them up. The rage of the Confederates was without bounds. They said that Lincoln was a dictator, greater even than Louis Napoleon. But the North replied that the President's authority rested on a loyal people, while that of the Emperor of France depended on his army.

In May, by skilful leadership, Generals Lee and Jackson defeated the Union army under General Joseph Hooker at Chancellorsville. General Jackson, whose bravery at Bull Run had won him the name of "Stonewall," was mortally wounded by one of his own men, through mistake. Lee said he had lost his right arm in losing Stonewall Jackson.

In June, Lee hurried across the



THOMAS JONATHAN JACKSON
1824-1863

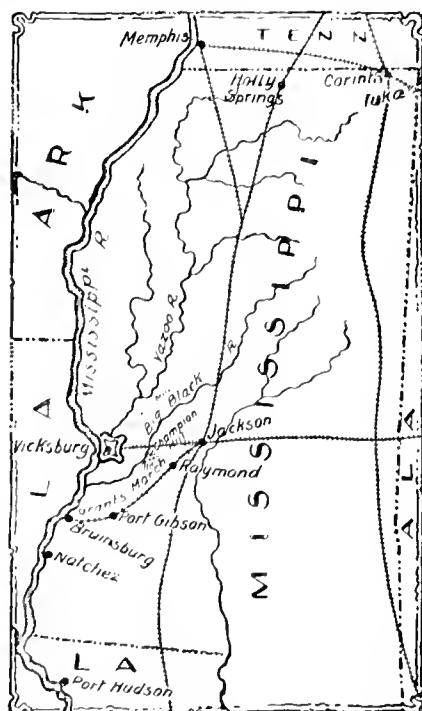


Potomac and entered Pennsylvania. He was met at Gettysburg by General George G. Meade, now in command of the Army of the Potomac instead of Hooker. The Union army marshaled on a chain of hills called Cemetery Ridge,

Gettysburg
(July 1-3)

and the Confederate army faced them on Seminary Ridge. North of them lay the town of Gettysburg. At sunset, on the third day of the battle, Lee's army was totally defeated. He recrossed the Potomac during the night. The battle of Gettysburg was one of the most terrible in history. Over fifty thousand "boys in blue" and "boys in gray" were killed, wounded, or missing. Meade followed Lee, and both armies lay facing each other on opposite banks of the Rapidan, till General Grant came to take command of the Army of the Potomac.

Meantime, in the West, General Grant at Holly Springs, in northern Mississippi, planned to take Vicksburg. A Confederate army under Pemberton guarded that important point. Grant marched to Memphis, on the east bank of the Mississippi, and sailed down the river with fifty thousand men. He



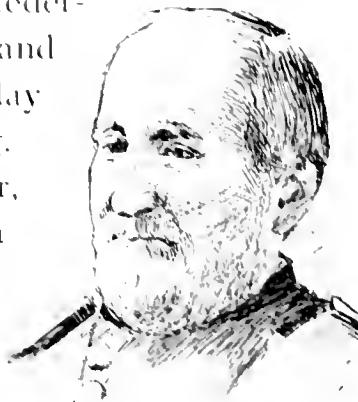
The siege of Vicksburg

landed a few miles above Vicksburg. The great fortification stood on a peninsula jutting into the Mississippi. It was inaccessible from the north because of the Yazoo River, with its high bluffs, and a dense forest.



Grant planned to get below the city by cutting a canal across the peninsula. Thousands of men worked for weeks at the canal, but when it was about finished, the river overflowed its banks and ruined the work. Grant then boldly rushed Porter's gunboats past the batteries at Vicksburg during the night, and moved his army along the west bank to a landing below the city.

Here he crossed to the east bank, and hastening forward, defeated Pemberton at Port Gibson, captured Raymond, and drove out of Jackson General Joseph E. Johnston, who was hurrying to Pemberton's aid; then turning west, he defeated Pemberton at Champion Hills and Big Black River. Grant now surrounded and invested Vicksburg. His assaults on the fortifications were repulsed, but after a siege of six weeks, this "Gibraltar of the Confederacy" surrendered with thirty thousand prisoners on the fourth of July, the day after Meade's victory at Gettysburg.



Port Hudson, lower down the river, besieged by Farragut's fleet and a land force under General Banks, surrendered a few days later, and, in the words of Lincoln, "The Father of Waters again flowed impeded to the sea." Union gunboats paraded the river, and the supplies of grain and cattle from Texas and Arkansas were thus shut off from the Confederate armies of the East.

JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON
1807-1891

Port Gibson
May 10
Raymond
Jackson (May 11)
Champion Hills
(May 12)
Big Black River
(May 13)
Vicksburg (July 4)

Port Hudson
(July 9)

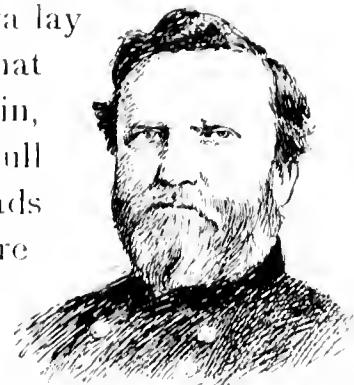
WILLIAM STARKE ROSECRANS
1819-1893

Meanwhile Rosecrans, after his brilliant victories at Iuka and Corinth, had been given command of Buell's Army of the Cumberland at Nashville. After defeating Braxton Bragg in a terrible battle at Murfreesboro, he drove Bragg from Chattanooga; but as he followed in pursuit, he was defeated by the Confederate general in a terrible battle at Chickamauga Creek, in which nearly forty thousand were killed or wounded. Rosecrans's army withdrew to Chattanooga, General George H. Thomas, the "Rock of Chickamauga," covering their retreat. Bragg then began a stubborn siege to starve the Union army into surrendering. Chattanooga lay on the south bank of the Tennessee where that river flows nearly due west. Lookout Mountain, Missionary Ridge, and Raccoon Mountain, in full view of seven Southern States, held their heads defiantly over the town; and all the passes were guarded. President Lincoln had by this time unbounded confidence in the hero of Vicksburg, and put the armies in the West under his command. In October Grant summoned his legions about him to rescue the beleaguered army at Chattanooga. Hooker from the Army of the Potomac, with re-enforcements from the Western armies, fought his way up Lookout Mountain. Bragg's division retreated from the heights. Part of the fighting was carried on at so great an elevation that the engagement on Lookout Mountain is often called "the battle above the clouds."

The next day Sherman, with Thomas and Sheridan, engaged Bragg at Missionary Ridge. The Confederate army retreated to Dalton, and Bragg gave up his command to Joseph E. Johnston. Soon after, both armies went into winter quarters. At the close of 1863, Geor-

Murfreesboro
(Dec. 31, 1862.
(Jan. 2, 1863)

1863
Chickamauga
(September 19, 20)



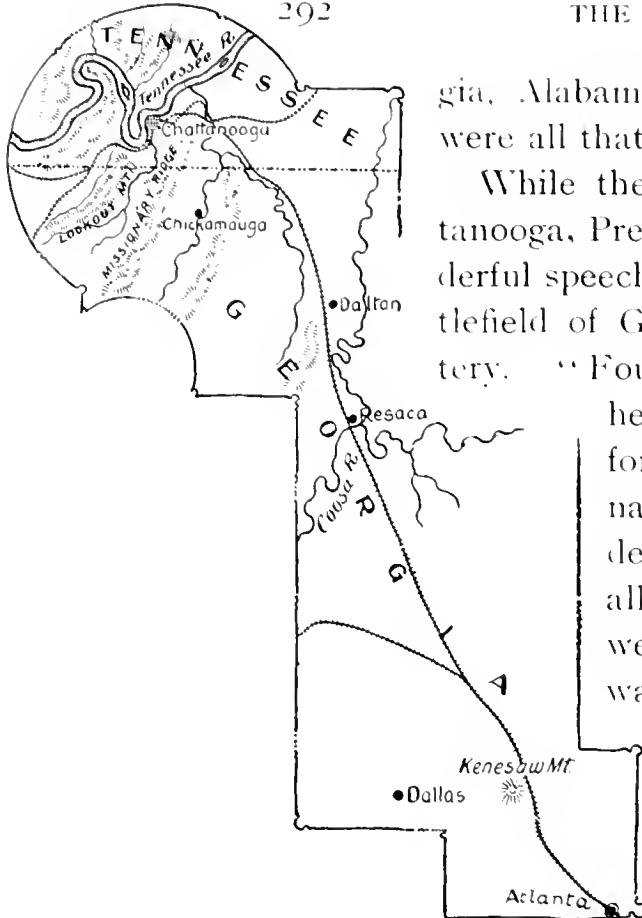
GEO. H. THOMAS
1816-1870

Chattanooga

Lookout Mountain
(November 24)

Missionary Ridge
(November 25)

The close of 1863



Lincoln dedicates
the national
cemetery at
Gettysburg
(November 19th)

gia, Alabama, the Carolinas, and Virginia were all that were left to the Confederates.

While the battle was raging about Chattanooga, President Lincoln delivered a wonderful speech at the dedication of the battlefield of Gettysburg for a national cemetery. "Four score and seven years ago,"

he said, "our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men were created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any other nation so conceived and dedicated, can long endure. We have met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to

dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate, we can not consecrate, we can not hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us; that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the

1864

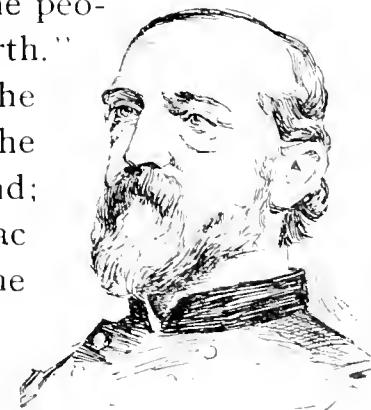
last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

When spring opened, General Lee, with the Army of Northern Virginia, was still on the south bank of the Rapidan, protecting Richmond; General Meade and the Army of the Potomac lay facing him on the opposite bank. In the West General Johnston, who had succeeded Bragg in command of the Confederate army, was at Dalton in northwestern Georgia, guarding the approaches to Atlanta, the railroad center of the South.

General Grant had now been made lieutenant general in command of the Union armies. Only George Washington and Winfield Scott had held this title. Grant left to Sherman the task of uniting at Chattanooga all the western armies east of the Mississippi to drive Johnston from the mountains to the open country where he might be met in battle.

It was agreed that the armies of Grant and Sherman should both begin operations on the same day, the fourth of May, so that neither Confederate army might have opportunity to send aid to the other.

Grant himself hastened with Sheridan to the Army of the Potomac, where Meade was still in command on the north bank of the Rapidan. Grant's plan was to take Richmond. He sent General Butler up the James to attack the city from the south, Generals Sigel and Hunter up the Shenandoah valley to approach Richmond from the west, while he was to advance to the city from the north.



GEORGE GORDON MEADE
1815-1872

Ulysses S. Grant,
lieutenant general
of the United States
army March)

The battle of the
Wilderness
(May 5, 6)

Spottsylvania and
Cold Harbor
(May 8-12)

Grant crosses the
James

Grant set out from Culpepper Courthouse, and crossed the Rappahannock. He was met by Lee in the "Wilderness," a country of forests and thickets, and for two days battle raged incessantly.

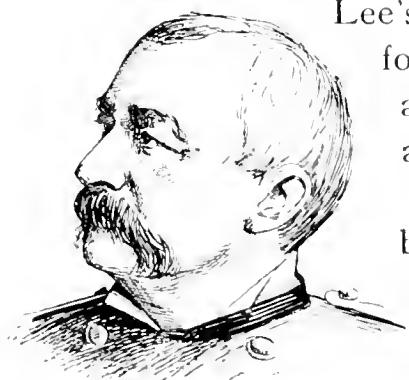
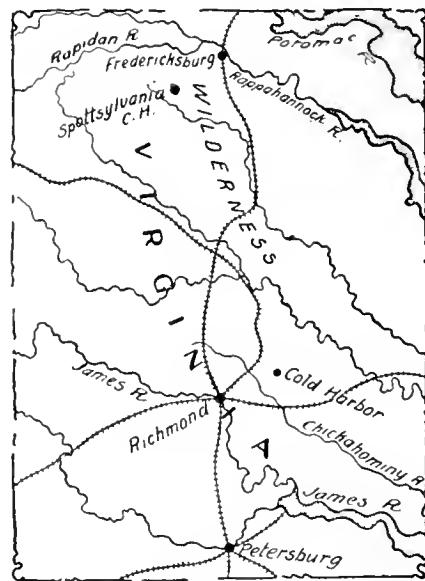
Lee fought unsuccessfully at Spottsylvania Courthouse, but was victorious at Cold Harbor. Grant declared he would fight it out on that line if it took him all summer, and pushed slowly southward. When Grant reached the Chickahominy River, he had lost about sixty thousand men. Lee had lost about half that number.

The defenses on the north of Richmond were too strong to be taken, and Grant moved across the James to attack the city from the south. But just beyond the river were the fortifications of Petersburg, twenty miles from Richmond. Here

Lee's army had taken position. Both armies kept fortifying themselves more and more strongly; and, during the winter, each tried to get the advantage.

Meantime, east of Richmond, Butler had been cooped up on a peninsula in the James.

West of Richmond, Sigel had been defeated by General John C. Breckinridge, and Hunter forced to retreat beyond the Alleghany Mountains. The Shenandoah valley was thus unprotected. Lee sent General Early through Maryland to attack Washington. But the passes to the capital were too well guarded; and while Early



PHILIP H. SHERIDAN
1831-1888

was encamped in the valley, Sheridan defeated him at Winchester. Early surprised the pursuing Union army at Cedar Creek, and put it to rout, while Sheridan was

absent at Winchester, about twenty miles away. Sheridan heard the cannonading with its "terrible grumble, and rumble, and roar, telling the battle was on once more;" he mounted his horse, and arrived in time to rally his men, and change defeat to victory.

In the West, Sherman in supreme command of the Army of the Cumberland, numbering almost

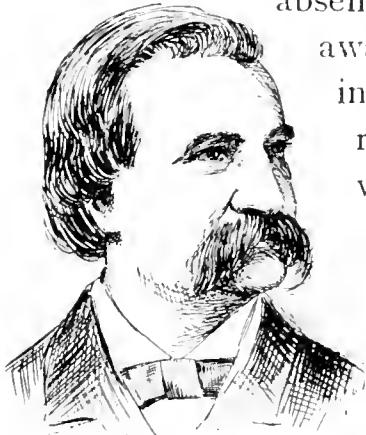
JOHN ALEXANDER LOGAN
1826-1886

a hundred thousand men, and comprising the Army of the Cumberland, commanded by George H. Thomas, the Army of the Tennessee, by James B. Mc Pherson, and the Army of the Ohio, by John M. Schofield, drove Joseph E. Johnston, with an army of about sixty thousand, slowly back from Dalton through the mountains to Atlanta.

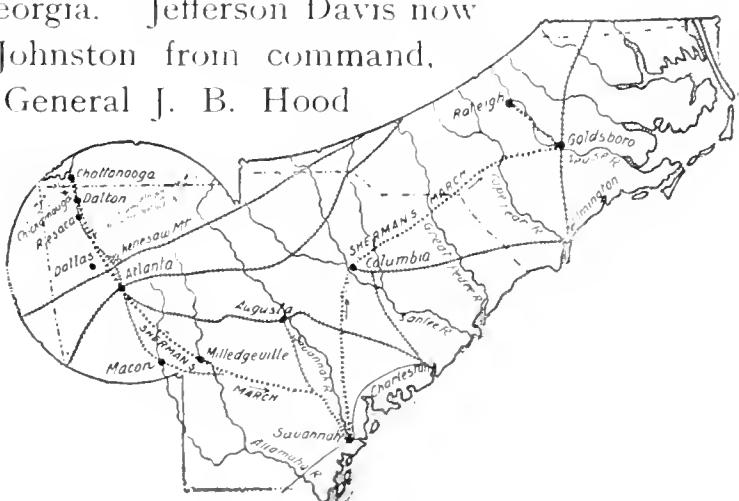
There were battles at Resaca and Dallas, in which Sherman was victorious, and at Kenesaw Mountain, where he was badly defeated by Johnston. About thirty-five thousand were killed or wounded in these battles among the hills of Georgia. Jefferson Davis now removed the cautious Johnston from command, and appointed the rash General J. B. Hood in his place. Hood was beaten in three engagements by Sherman. In one of these General Mc Pherson was killed, and General John A.

Winchester
(September 19)
Cedar Creek
(October 19)

Sheridan's ride



Dalton (May 4)
Resaca, Ga.
May 14, 15
Dallas (May 25-28)
Kenesaw Mountain
(June 27)



Atlanta taken
(September 2)

Nashville
(December 15, 16)

Sherman's march
to the sea
(November 16 to
December 13)



W. T. SHERMAN
1820-1891

1864
The Red River
expedition

Cavalry raids

Blockade runners

Logan succeeded him in command of the Army of the Tennessee for the remainder of the battle, when he was succeeded by General O. O. Howard. Hood was driven out of Atlanta. He then started for the North, crossed the Tennessee, and, after a desperate engagement with Schofield at Franklin, was attacked by Thomas at Nashville, and routed completely. Thus the Confederate army of the West went to pieces, and the Gulf States were without defense.

Sherman had planned for this result. Meantime he burned Atlanta, and then tearing down telegraph wires as he went that they might not convey the news of his movements, and destroying railroads and all that might sustain an army, he marched in four great columns, covering sixty miles of country, to Savannah, three hundred miles away.

Sherman stormed Fort Mc Alister, and entered the city just before Christmas. He had cut the eastern part of the Confederacy in two, and he remained in winter quarters at Savannah, while Lee and Grant were watching each other on the James.

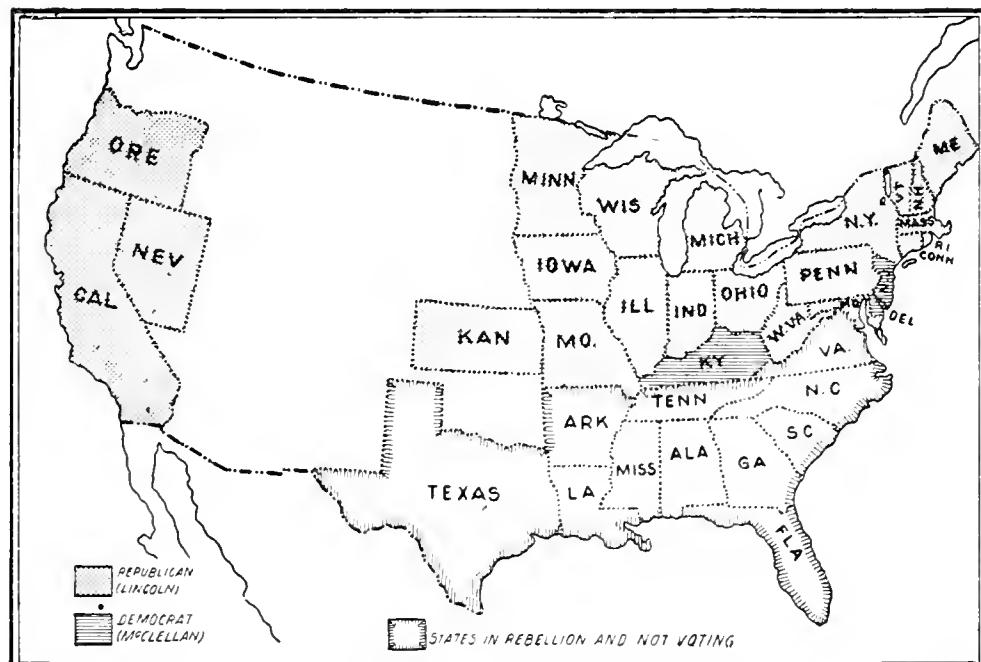
Now, while the great armies were fighting, there had been many smaller engagements. An expedition under General Banks was sent through northwestern Louisiana and up the Red River; but the campaign was a failure, and the troops returned to New Orleans. The cavalry on both sides made extended raids through the country. Confederate gunboats in the harbors and ironclads on the Gulf of Mexico struggled to break the blockade, which shut off the South from supplies. Swift blockade runners built low, and painted dull drab, were secured in the West Indies. On dark nights they ran with provisions into port at Wilmington, N. C., and

sped away again laden with cotton. Over fifteen hundred of these blockade runners were captured during the war.

Confederate privateers cruised in the high seas to destroy the commerce of the North. The *Sumter* captured many merchantmen, and a fleet of cruisers, built in England, lay in wait for American vessels. Off the coast of France, the Union ship *Kearsarge* sunk the

Privateers

Cruisers

The *Kearsarge* sinks
the *Alabama*
(June 19)

ELECTION OF 1864

British ship *Alabama*, which, under a Confederate captain, had long preyed upon Northern merchantmen. The Confederate cruiser *Florida* was unlawfully seized in a neutral port, and the *Georgia* was captured at Lisbon.

At the close of 1864 the conflict in the West was concluded. General Lee commanded the only organized Confederate army. He could not help the Gulf States, for he needed his men to defend Richmond against Grant, who, intrenched near Petersburg, watched the Confeder-

ate capital day and night. Sherman, at Savannah, was waiting to advance to Virginia, and hold Lee in check while Grant might give the final stroke of the war.

National conventions

Meantime the States not in rebellion met in national conventions. Those who wanted "peace at any price" nominated George B. McClellan; those, both Democrats and Republicans, who were determined to maintain the Union "at any cost," Abraham Lincoln; those who wished a more vigorous policy in liberating the slaves, John C. Fremont. Fremont withdrew, and Lincoln was re-elected president, with Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, vice-president.

Abraham Lincoln
re-elected

1865

Fort Fisher and
Wilmington
(January 15)

Sherman occupies
Columbia
(February 17)

Charleston
(February 18)

"In God we trust"
(March 3)

Lincoln inaugurated
(March 4)

In January, Admiral David D. Porter and a division of Grant's army, under General A. S. Terry, captured Fort Fisher and Wilmington, N. C., thus shutting off the blockade runners that had supplied Lee's army with food.

In February, Sherman left Savannah, and marched toward Columbia. Every white man in South Carolina, from sixteen to sixty, was called upon to defend the capital of his State; but the mighty army of Sherman occupied Columbia. The Confederates had set the torch to their warehouses, and retreated to join the hastily collected army under Johnston and Beauregard in North Carolina. Charleston was captured by a detachment of Union troops, and the stars and stripes were set again on Fort Sumter.

On the third of March, Congress ordered that "In God We Trust" be placed upon the larger coin of the nation as we see it to-day. On the fourth of March, Lincoln said in his inaugural address: "With malice toward none, with charity for all; with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds,

to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and orphans, and to do all things which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

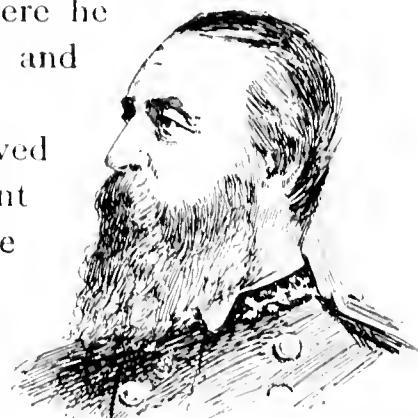
Peace was near at hand. Sherman was met in North Carolina by Johnston with an army of forty thousand men, made up of the scattered forces of the western armies and the garrisons from the fallen cities on the coast. He defeated him at Averysboro and Bentonville, and ended his great march at Goldsboro, where he united his army with the armies of Schofield and Terry.

Meantime Sheridan with his cavalry moved up the Shenandoah valley, and joined Grant near Petersburg. Grant advanced his whole line, a hundred thousand strong, and burst through Lee's intrenchments. Lee retreated westward during the night. Petersburg and Richmond were taken by the Union troops. Jefferson Davis and his cabinet fled from their capital, and escaped to North Carolina.

Grant pursued Lee; Sheridan passed beyond him, and cut off retreat. The Confederates were half starved and worn out; their currency had so depreciated that the war department paid a thousand dollars for a pair of boots; and a month's pay for a soldier would not buy a ration of food.

General Lee accepted defeat, and, on April 9, surrendered the shattered remnant of his army, numbering twenty-six thousand men, to General Grant, at Appomattox Courthouse. On promise not to bear arms against the United States, the Confederates were allowed to disband, and to keep their horses for their plows. A few days later at Raleigh General Johnston

Averysboro
(March 15)
Bentonville
(March 18)



DAVID DIXON PORTER
1831-1891

Petersburg (April 2)
Richmond (April 3)

General Lee
surrenders his army
(April 9)

General Johnston
surrenders
(April 26)

surrendered to Sherman. Jefferson Davis was captured in Georgia, and imprisoned at Fortress Monroe on the charge of treason. Two years later he was released without trial.

Such are the rude outlines of the most terrible civil war in the history of the world. A more complete account¹ of the conflict and of the great generals who led armies to defeat or victory should be read by every student.

The armies of Grant
and Sherman march
in review at
Washington

(May 23, 24)

When the war was over, the Confederate soldiers returned to their ruined homes. The armies of Grant and Sherman, about one hundred and fifty thousand strong, marched to music through the streets of Washington City. Then they separated to return to their own States. Here they were reviewed by their governors, and then, except the standing army of fifty thousand, the Federal troops, numbering in all about a million men, disbanded to go to their homes. The tattered flag of Fort Sumter was placed on the flagstaff of the fortification by its old commander, and thus the flag of the Union instead of the palmetto of South Carolina floated again over the government buildings in Charleston harbor.

Estimated loss in
the war

Over two million men served in the Union army, and about a million in the Confederate army. About three hundred thousand, on each side, lay under the sod. All this blood had been shed to determine whether the nation should be kept one and undivided. Instead of two nations, with standing armies, ready to destroy each other like the nations of Europe, we are still the united nation which Washington, Jackson, and other great patriots struggled to establish and maintain.

¹ "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War," published by the Century Company, gives an excellent account of the principal engagements.

Slavery caused the war, but let us remember that the war was not waged by the government to abolish slavery in the States. Lincoln himself agreed that slavery in the *States* was protected by the Constitution. He depended on the slow growth of public opinion to abolish it. The question at issue was whether the flag should be torn asunder. From the time of Jefferson, some had believed that a State had the right to pass judgment on the acts of Congress, and to nullify those which did not seem constitutional. From this standpoint it was easy to believe that each State was sovereign in itself, and had the right to withdraw from the Union. In the South, as well as in the North, men stood by their convictions, and fought with all their might to defend them.

The rejoicing over the close of the rebellion was turned into deepest grief by the assassination of President Lincoln. On the evening of the fifth day after Lee's surrender, while the great man sat in Ford's theater, in Washington, John Wilkes Booth, a young actor, crept behind him, and, crying "*Sic semper tyrannis*" (Thus may it ever be to tyrants), shot him through the brain.

In the excitement of the moment no one seized the slayer. But the American flag, draped in front of the president's box, wrapped itself about his feet as he fled, and threw him to the floor. Booth escaped with a broken leg. He was afterward shot in a barn by soldiers attempting to capture him; yet four of his accomplices were hanged. On the same night that Lincoln fell, William H. Seward, secretary of state, was severely stabbed in his own house.

Within three hours after Lincoln breathed his last, Andrew Johnson, the vice-president, was sworn into office as chief executive of the United States.

1865

The assassination of
President Lincoln
(April 15)

The fate of John
Wilkes Booth

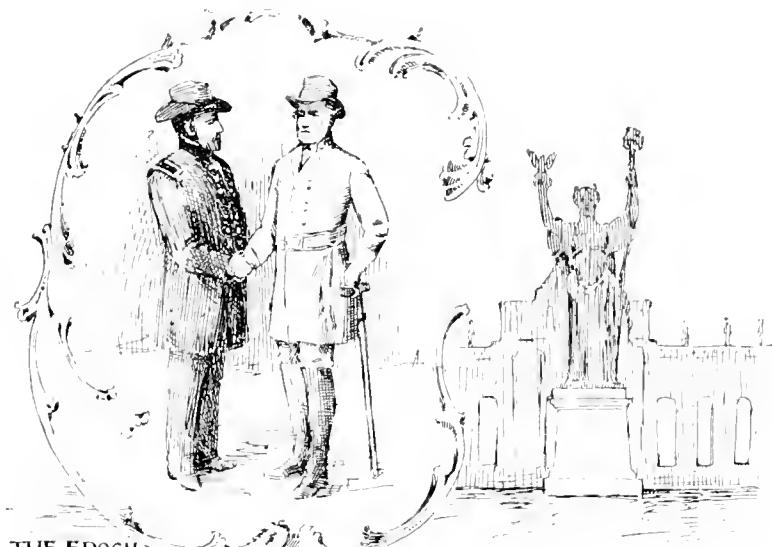
Andrew Johnson
becomes president
(April 15)

THE EPOCH OF THE CIVIL WAR, 1861-1865

Abraham Lincoln's Administration 1861-1865
Republican

Domestic
Foreign

- Fort Sumter captured by the Confederates
Eleven States versus twenty-three States
Blockade of Southern ports
Battle of Bull Run
Mill Spring
Forts Henry and Donelson
Pittsburg Landing
Corinth
New Orleans
The *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*
Yorktown
Williamsburg
Seven Pines
Seven Days' battles
Cedar Mountain
The second battle of Bull Run
Fredericksburg
Negroes made contraband of war
National banks established
Emancipation Proclamation
Chancellorsville
Gettysburg
Port Gibson
Raymond
Jackson
Champion Hills
Vicksburg
Port Hudson
Chickamauga
Chattanooga
Lincoln's dedication of Gettysburg Cemetery
Battle of the Wilderness
Spottsylvania
Winchester
Cedar Creek
Dalton
Resaca
Dallas
Kenesaw Mountain
Atlanta
Nashville
Sherman's march to the sea
The Red River expedition
The *Kearsarge* and the *Alabama*
Lincoln re-elected
Fort Fisher and Wilmington
Columbia
Charleston
The inauguration of President Lincoln
Averysboro
Bentonville
Richmond
Appomattox
Raleigh
Assassination of President Lincoln
European powers grant belligerent rights to the Confederacy
Mason and Slidell seized on the *Trent*
England sends battle ships to Canada
Peaceful settlement of *Trent* affair
Napoleon III overthrows the Mexican republic
Maximilian emperor of Mexico



THE EPOCH
OF RECONSTRUCTION AND NATIONAL PROGRESS

1865-1899

CHAPTER XLIV

ANDREW JOHNSON (SEVENTEENTH PRESIDENT,
1865-1869), REPUBLICAN

ANDREW JOHNSON faced many grave problems as he took the presidential chair. The South was in chaos. The thirteenth amendment to the Constitution, abolishing slavery forever, wherever it still existed, had just been sent by Congress to the States for ratification. It was necessary to add this amendment to the Constitution, because Lincoln's emancipation proclamation applied only to the Confederate States. Kentucky, Missouri, West Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware had remained loyal, yet still held their slaves.

There seemed two ways of restoring the disloyal States to their old position: one was by restoration, the other by reconstruction. The Restoration plan did not concede that the States had ever been entirely out of the Union, and, on certain conditions, received them back. The Reconstruction plan considered the disloyal States out of the Union, and readmitted them on certain condi-

1865
The thirteenth
amendment

The "Restoration
plan" favored by
Lincoln and
Johnson

tions, including a guaranty that the negroes should be recognized as citizens.

Lincoln had favored the Restoration plan, and issued an "amnesty proclamation" granting pardon, with a few exceptions, to all who had taken part in the rebel-

lion. The condition of pardon was an oath of allegiance to the United States and support of the emancipation proclamation. He had "restored" Arkansas, Tennessee, and Louisiana, after one tenth of those who had voted in 1860 for presidential electors had taken the oath and organized a State government. Johnson, like Lincoln, favored the Restoration plan; he removed the blockade, and placed provisional governors over States not yet restored, authorizing them to call conventions to organize loyal governments by repealing the Ordinance of Secession, repudiating the Southern war, abolishing slavery in their own States, and ratifying the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution.

When Congress met, the measures of both presidents were ignored, and the Reconstruction plan was adopted. Senators and representatives from the eleven seceded States were not given seats in Congress; and the "iron-clad oath,"¹ incorporated into the fourteenth amendment, was demanded of officeholders.

Congress passed, over President Johnson's veto, the Civil Rights bill, guaranteeing to negroes the rights of citizenship.² The bill was also incorporated into the fourteenth amendment, ratification of which was made a condition of representation in Congress from the Southern States.

¹ Article XIV, Section III, of the Constitution.

² Article XIV, Section I, of the Constitution.

Congress put the rebellious States under martial law, until they should return to the Union, and created a freedmen's bureau to protect the negroes.

The Confederate States under martial law

Meantime the thirteenth and fourteenth amendments were ratified. The seceded States, except Georgia, Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas, were "reconstructed;" but the result was very disappointing. The ironclad oath disfranchised almost all Southern statesmen. Unscrupulous Northern men, called "carpetbaggers," because it was said they brought nothing with them but carpetbags, hurried across the borders, and set up State governments by the votes of negroes and a few white men called "scalawags."

The thirteenth and fourteenth amendments are ratified

Carpetbaggers and scalawags

President Johnson vigorously opposed the Reconstruction plan, and vetoed the bills providing for it. The bills were passed over his veto, however; and, in the end, the feeling against him became so violent that he was impeached by the House of Representatives for high crimes and misdemeanors. The trial was before the Senate, with Chief Justice Chase presiding. A two-thirds vote was necessary for conviction, and Johnson was acquitted by just one vote.

President Johnson impeached

There were many questions for Congress to settle. During the war, while our government was too busy to help prevent it, Louis Napoleon, the emperor of France, overthrew the republic of Mexico, and proclaimed Maximilian of Austria emperor. At the close of the war, the French army still held the Mexicans under military rule. The United States quoted the Monroe doctrine to France, and sent General Sheridan to the Rio Grande with an army. France withdrew her troops. Maximilian refused to leave, and was shot by the Mexicans who re-established the republic.

1864
The French in Mexico

1867
Death of Emperor Maximilian (June 19)

Alaska was bought from Russia through the diplomacy

1867
Purchase of Alaska (October)

1868

The first Chinese
embassy

1863

West Virginia,

1864

Nevada, and

1867

Nebraska admitted

1865

The national debt

1868

General U S Grant
elected president

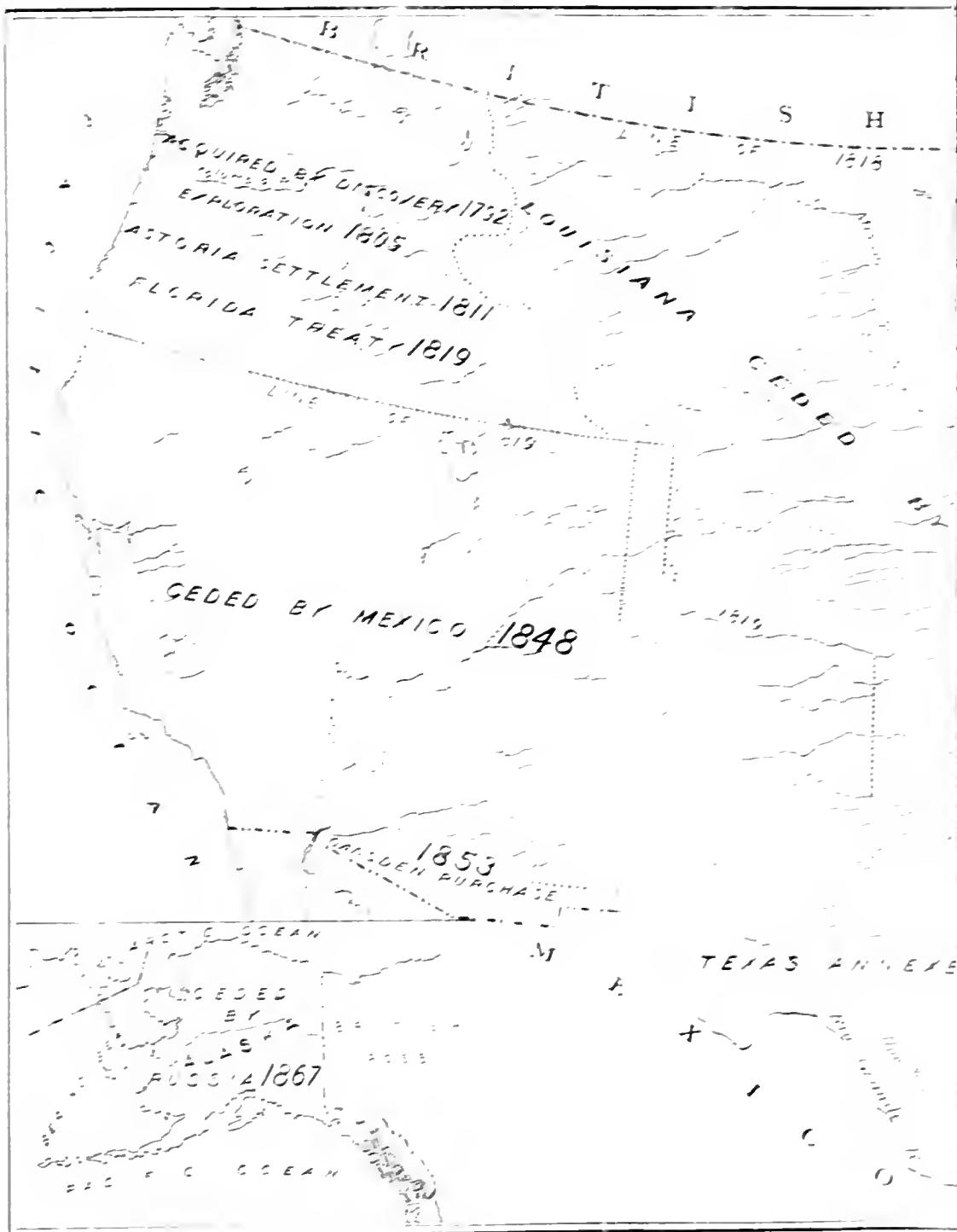
of William H. Seward, secretary of state, for seven million two hundred thousand dollars, and brought much wealth in minerals, lumber, and furs to our country. The following year China sent an embassy to the United States, in charge of Anson Burlingame, who had been our American ambassador to that empire. A treaty was concluded which gave us greater commercial privileges at Chinese ports than those enjoyed by any other nation.

During the war, West Virginia and Nevada were added to the Union, and then Nebraska was admitted as the thirty-seventh State.

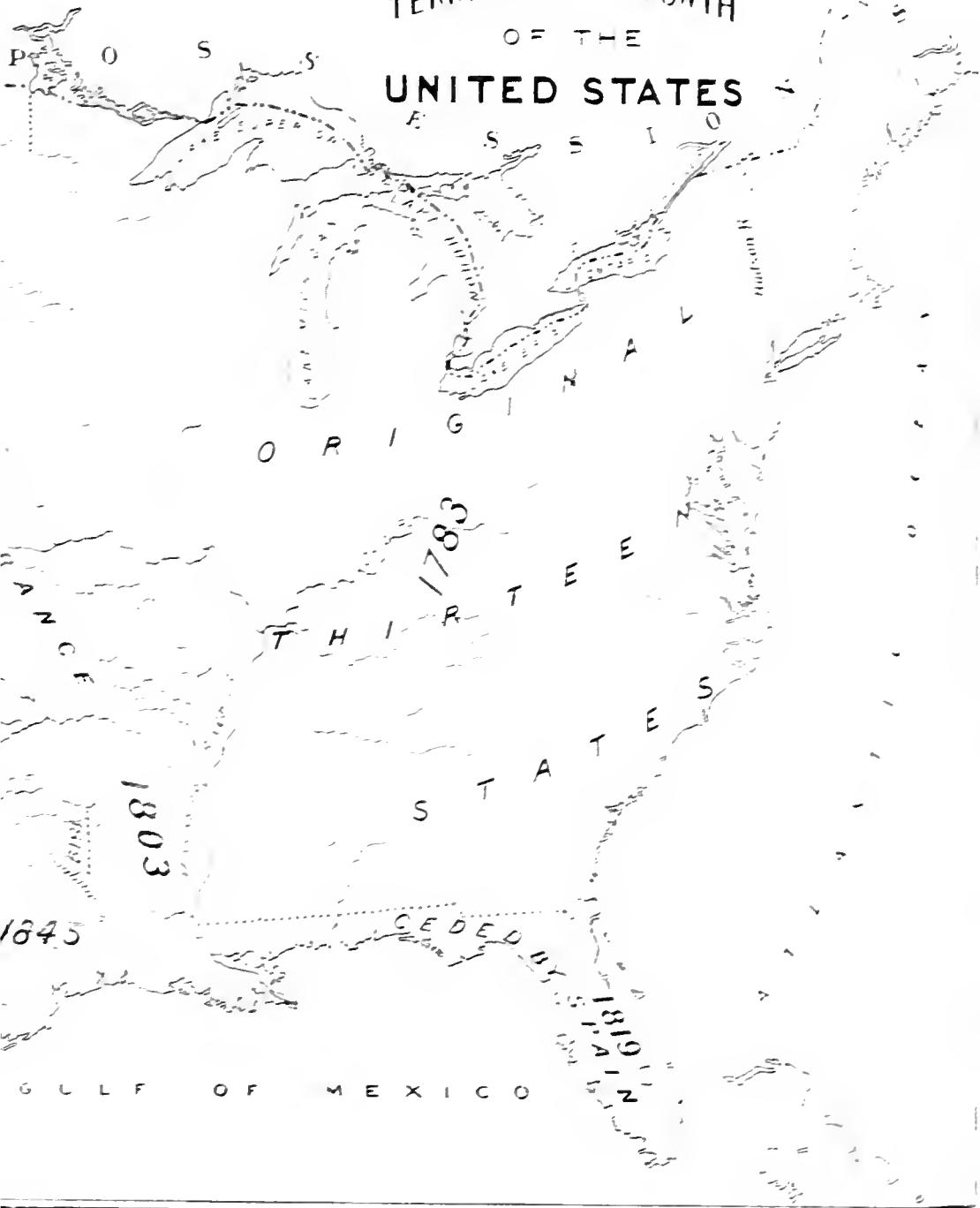
The national debt, at the close of the war, was nearly three billion dollars. The government determined, from the beginning, to pay the debt as soon as possible. There was a large income from duties on imports, taxes on manufactured articles, the sale of public lands, and other sources. The revenues were soon sufficient, not only to pay the interest on the debt, but to reduce the principal.

When the time came for the national conventions, the Republicans nominated General Ulysses S. Grant, of Illinois, president; the Democrats, Horatio Seymour, of New York. Grant, the hero of the war, was elected.





TERRITORIAL GROWTH
OF THE
UNITED STATES



CHAPTER XLV

ULYSSES S. GRANT (EIGHTEENTH PRESIDENT,
1869-1877) REPUBLICAN¹

THE census in the year after Ulysses S. Grant became president showed a population of more than thirty-eight and a half million. The city of New York had nearly a million inhabitants; next in size, were Philadelphia, Brooklyn, and St. Louis. Chicago was close behind the latter city when a fire swept miles of buildings from her lake shore. Nearly one hundred thousand people were made homeless. Money, clothing, and food were sent to the sufferers from all parts of the country, and the Prairie City arose from its ashes more splendid than ever.²

One of the most remarkable things shown by the new census was the growth of the West. The discovery of gold in the Rocky Mountains caused thousands to hurry to Pike's Peak. Denver was founded; "prairie schooners," mules, and horses bore the gold seekers to the mountain city, and a line of coaches soon ran from Leavenworth to Denver.

The travel through the prairies of the West aroused new interest in the Great American Desert. People learned that the soil was fitted for agriculture; and to encourage settlement, Congress passed the Homestead bill, giving farms of eighty or a hundred and sixty acres to qualified citizens, who cultivated them for five years.

¹ Read Andrews' "Last Quarter Century."

² The following year a large part of Boston, including many historic buildings, was burned.

1870
The census

1871
The Chicago fire

The growth of
the West

1862
The Homestead Act

1860

The Pacific railroad completed

That same year Congress chartered two companies for building a railroad to the coast. The Central Pacific pledged, in consideration of subsidies in bonds and cessions of public lands, to complete a road from Sacramento eastward, and the Union Pacific from Omaha westward. The two roads met near Ogden, Utah. After San Francisco had been thus joined with bands of iron to the cities of the East, immigration to the West increased enormously, and pulled the center of population along at a great rate.

1858

The first cable telegraph

During President Buchanan's administration, as we have seen, a cable telegraph united the United States to England. After a few weeks, however, this cable ceased to work. Cyrus Field made many voyages across the sea, and finally secured enough capital in America and Europe to begin his work over again. Another line was broken and lost. Yet another, two thousand miles long, carried by the *Great Eastern*, connected successfully the

1866

A permanent cable

Port of Heart's Content, Newfoundland, with Valentia Bay, Ireland.

About this time Congress established the first signal service bureau. It ascertains several days in advance the temperature and moisture of the atmosphere, and the direction and violence of the winds. At present, the signal service system extends over the whole country, and is of value to agriculture and commerce.



CYRUS W. FIELD

1819-1892

1870

The signal service bureau

Santo Domingo

President Grant's first administration had much to do with foreign affairs. Santo Domingo,

the fertile eastern part of Haiti, asked to be annexed to the United States. As it was a fine coaling station, and well adapted for the colonization of negroes, the president was anxious to buy it. He agreed to a treaty; but because its annexation would bring many ignorant

voters, chiefly negroes, the Senate refused to confirm the treaty.

The United States had trouble with England about the equipment of Southern men-of-war within her waters during the rebellion. Confederate agents had built and armed the *Alabama* and the *Florida* in the Mersey. They escaped to sea, and nearly ruined American commerce, taking refuge, when pursued, in British harbors. We have seen that the *Alabama* was sunk by the *Kearsarge*; but in her course on the seas she had destroyed about seventy merchantmen. The United States demanded damages for the injuries done by these and other vessels built and equipped in British waters.

*The "Alabama
Claims"*

1872

War was threatened. But, in the end, a Board of Arbitration at Geneva, Switzerland, decided that Great Britain should pay fifteen and a half million dollars into the federal treasury for damage done to American commerce. That same year the dispute about the northwest boundary between the United States and British America was settled. "This leaves us," said President Grant, in his message to Congress, "for the first time in the history of the United States as a nation, without a question of disputed territory in the possessions of Great Britain."

Cuba, the following year, caused complications with Spain.¹⁸⁷³ The *Virginius*, an American vessel, carried supplies to help the natives of Cuba in a rebellion against Spain. Of course the crew had no right to do this. They were seized on the ocean by a Spanish man-of-war, and taken to Cuba. Several were shot without a legal trial. The United States protested against the injustice so vigorously that Spain stopped the death penalty, and afterward released those left alive.

Meantime the relations at home were more compli-

1870

The fifteenth
amendment adopted
(March 30)

cated than those abroad. The fifteenth amendment, ratified by the States, forbidding the United States or any State to prevent any person from voting because of his race, color, or previous condition of servitude, gave the negro the right to vote. That same year the last States were reconstructed, and, the following term of Congress, members were again in their seats from all the States, as before the war. One of the senators was Hiram R. Revels, of Mississippi, the first colored member of Congress.

The trials of
reconstruction in
the South

There was still much trouble in the South over the negro question. In many States more negroes than white men voted, so that the ex-slaves had control of the local government. They were utterly ignorant, and became the tools of the carpetbaggers.

The condition of the descendants of the cavaliers was most distressing at this time. Vast estates had been sold for taxes; proud planters became clerks; and high-bred ladies hired out as governesses.

Many noble men and women accepted the verdict of the war, and bent their energies toward building up the South to its old honored place in the Union.

General Robert E.
Lee, president of
Washington
university

General Robert E. Lee, president of Washington University, used his influence to develop a love for the Union. When a Virginia lady brought her two sons to enter the school, and in his presence expressed bitter hatred for the North, the great man said: "Madam, do not bring up your sons to detest the United States government. We form but one country *now*. Make your sons Americans."

The Kuklux Klan

Yet it was a terrible struggle for even the best of Southern leaders to submit to the trials of reconstruction. Race prejudice was strong. The Kuklux Klan, a secret society of young Southern whites, was formed

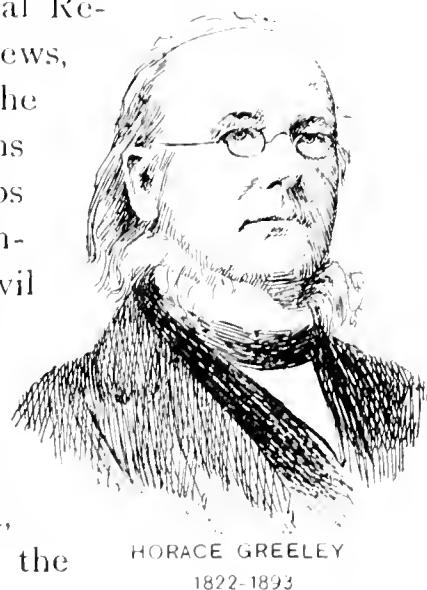
to keep freed men "in their place." Murders were committed in the name of the society for all sorts of private grudges, until the Southerners themselves detested the system. When the State governments asked aid, President Grant sent troops, and Congress passed severe laws against the Ku Klux Klans, which finally put an end to their meetings.

There was so much trouble in the South over the various stringent laws enacted by Congress that some Republicans formed a faction, called "Liberal Republicans."¹ Carl Schurz, Stanley Matthews, and Charles Francis Adams were some of the leading men among the Liberal Republicans who demanded the removal of federal troops from the South, universal amnesty to the Confederates, a tariff for revenue only, and civil service reform.

The Republican newspapers took sides on the political issues. The New York *Times* and *Harper's Weekly* sided with the Republicans. In the *Weekly*, Thomas Nast, the caricaturist, used his genius to further the interests of the old party.

Horace Greeley, in the New York *Tribune*, and Murat Halstead, in the Cincinnati *Commercial*, supported the "Liberals."

The Republicans nominated General Grant for re-election. The Liberals nominated Horace Greeley; but a faction of the Liberals, displeased with the choice, chose another candidate. The Democrats indorsed the Liberal ticket; Mr. Greeley's paper had so often denounced the democracy of the South, however, that a



HORACE GREELEY
1822-1893

¹ Read Johnston's "American Politics."

The Labor Reform party

faction refused to support him, and nominated Charles O'Conor. The Labor Reform party, which wished the Chinese excluded and government bonds taxed, and opposed national banks, and land grants to railroads and other corporations, indorsed Charles O'Conor.

The Prohibition party

The Prohibition party, demanding an amendment to the Constitution prohibiting the sale of liquor, nominated James Black, of Pennsylvania. Qualified citizens of all the States, including negroes, voted at this election.

1872

All the States take part in the national elections

General Grant was elected for a second term.

CHAPTER XLVI

ULYSSES S. GRANT (1869-1877) (CONTINUED)

REPUBLICAN

1873

The panic

THE second term of President Grant began with a financial panic. During the administration of Van Buren the country suffered from the results of a "boom." The panic in Grant's administration was largely due to the same causes.

Wild speculation

There had been a fictitious value on railroad, mining, and manufacturing stock. States, towns, and private corporations took great risks, and plunged into debt. Then came lack of confidence; stocks declined in value, banks called in their loans; manufacturing, mining, and railroad building stopped, and thousands of workmen were thrown out of employment.

Several years passed before the country recovered from this panic of 1873.

The "greenbacks"

We have seen how Congress issued "greenbacks," or promissory notes, to be used as money during the war,

1862-1865

because gold and silver were scarce. The value of this paper had gone up or down according to the success of the war. Just before Atlanta was taken, a paper dollar was worth about forty cents in coin. A barrel of flour, in some places, cost twenty-two dollars. After the war was over, the value of the paper money was not always the same. It was evidently necessary to strengthen the credit of the government. So to put things on a solid basis again, Congress passed the Resumption Act, by which the government declared it would make its bonds, "greenbacks," and national bank notes redeemable in coin, after Jan. 1, 1879.¹ This satisfied the holders of federal paper both at home and in Europe. Confidence in "greenbacks" was restored, and business began to improve just from the mere thinking about what would happen in four years.

The year the Resumption Act was passed was the centennial of the battle of Lexington.

On April 19, President Grant reviewed a procession of patriot soldiers. Then the statues of Samuel Adams and John Hancock were unveiled. Pine trees and palmetto trees stood on the platform in Lexington common as emblems that Massachusetts and South Carolina joined together in celebration of the battle which began our struggle for liberty. South Carolina, the first to secede from the Union in the Civil war, because she did not read the Constitution as Congress and the federal courts read it, had been the first to respond to the call for a Continental Congress. On this centennial day Governor Chamberlain, of South Carolina, in an eloquent address, spoke of his State as cemented anew in the Union.

"Oh, welcome South Carolina to-day to the old

1875
The Resumption of
Specie Payment Act

The centennial of
the battle of Lexing-
ton (April 19)

South Carolina
at the Lexington
centennial

¹ See page 287.

fellowship!" he said. "The monuments of marble crumble, but there is one monument which we may erect in the hearts of all the American people—the monument of a reunited country, a free and just government, 'an indestructible Union of indestructible States.'"

Governor Gaston, of Massachusetts, followed in an address, closing with the appeal to all sections: "Let us declare that we will preserve and maintain that Republic whose strong foundations were laid one hundred years ago."

The next centennial to come was that of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. It was proposed to make the hundredth Fourth of July a time for a World's Fair, and invite all nations to unite with us in celebrating at Philadelphia.

Some said the monarchies of Europe would not set such a bad example before their subjects as to join with a republic in commemorating this day. They said Queen Victoria would never send commissioners to celebrate the defeat of her grandfather. Yet thirty-three foreign governments, representing all the civilized nations except Greece, accepted the invitation to make exhibits.

Congress appropriated over two million dollars to erect a national building, and aid in the success of the undertaking; and several legislatures appropriated funds to erect State buildings.

President Grant opened the Exposition on May 10. The great day was the Fourth of July. Wagner, the German composer, had written a march for the occasion; Whittier, a centennial hymn; and Sidney Lanier, the poet of Georgia, an ode to the Union. Richard Henry Lee, descendant of him who moved the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, brought the original docu-

1876
Centennial of the
Declaration of
Independence
(July 4)

Congress and State
Legislatures make
appropriations

Grant opens the
Exposition May 10

1776-1876
The Fourth of July

ment, yellow with age, to the view of the vast audience; then Bayard Taylor read a poem, and William M. Evarts delivered a patriotic address.

Months of sight-seeing followed these exercises. There were products from almost every clime and country gathered on the Exposition grounds. The American people realized more than ever that there was much to do before they could hope to rank in art and science with the older nations. Yet in industrial inventions the United States took first place. The two most noted novelties were the electric light and Bell's telephone; but no one then dreamed of the value these discoveries would one day be to the world.

On the grounds, the white, the black, and the red The three races races mingled again as one hundred years before.

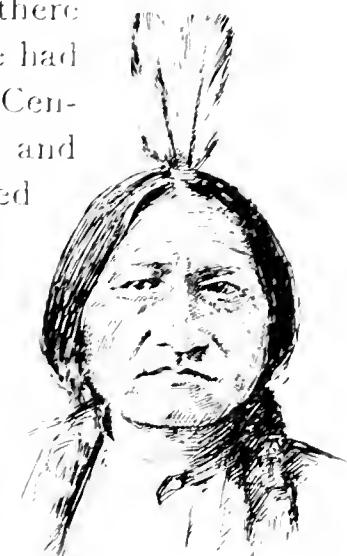
The white man was the bustling master of the situation; the black was timidly pushing here and there through the crowds, feeling that, as a citizen, he had a share in the displays. The red man at the Centennial was only a curiosity in his native land, and a troop of boys followed him as he wandered about in blankets and paints.

But far in the West, where most of the tribes had been driven during the century, some warriors were fighting for the patch of soil which still remained. The Modocs in southern Oregon, when ordered by the government to remove to another reservation, had refused to go, killed the peace commissioners, one of whom was General Canby, and concealed themselves in a network of underground passages several miles in length, made by old volcanoes, whence they were not driven for more than a year.

The Sioux Indians, who, during the Civil war, had The Sioux Indian

The Americans find
that they have
much to learn

The electric light and
the telephone



SITTING BULL
1834-1873

The Modoc Indian

Gold in the
Black Hills

Sitting Bull



GEORGE ARMSTRONG CUSTER
1839-1876

1876
Death of General
Custer and his
regiment (June 25)

Indian Territory

invaded Iowa and Minnesota, and killed nearly a thousand men, women, and children, were again giving trouble. They had agreed by treaty to retire to a reservation in southwestern Dakota. Meanwhile, however, gold was discovered in what is now South Dakota. The gold was in that part of the Black Hills which belonged to the Sioux reservation. But this did not prevent gold diggers from rushing into the district. They were very lawless. They hunted the buffalo for sport, and left the carcasses lying all over the plains to decay.

This was taking meat from the Indians. The Sioux resolved to be avenged. Under their leader, Sitting Bull, they attacked settlements in Wyoming and Montana, burning, stealing, and killing wherever they might. The government sent out an army which drove them toward the Big Horn in southern Montana.

When General Custer found that the Sioux were in a large village on the Little Big Horn,

he rashly pushed forward with a single cavalry regiment, was surrounded by thousands of painted warriors, and killed, with every man in his detachment of two hundred and sixty-two. Fresh troops soon came up, and drove the Indians into British America.

Yet war was not the favorite pastime of all the red men this centennial year. Indian Territory was organized during the administration of President Jackson, and in a few years the Cherokees of Georgia, the Seminoles and Creeks of Florida, and the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and other tribes along the Mississippi found hunting grounds there.

Many tribes, governed by laws of their own framing, had laid out farms and pleasant towns, set up printing

presses, and established schools and churches. It was hoped that other reservations might follow the example of Indian Territory.

Colorado,¹ whose gold and silver mines had made her mountains famous, was admitted into the Union as the Centennial State.

When the time came for the national conventions, the Democrats nominated for president Samuel J. Tilden, governor of New York, and the Republicans, Rutherford B. Hayes, governor of Ohio.

The Liberal Republicans were so anxious for a change of government that they joined the Democratic party rather than risk failure with a candidate of their own. The Prohibition party nominated Green Clay Smith, of Kentucky. The Independent National party, calling for a repeal of the Resumption Act, and wishing the government to print "greenbacks," or paper money, with a fixed value and without promise to redeem them in coin, chose Peter Cooper, of New York. The principal issues at stake were the tariff and civil service reform.

Now, as we have seen, electors cast their vote for president and vice-president. When the votes began to come in, it seemed almost certain that Tilden was elected. But in South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana still existed the "carpetbag" rule, which a portion of the people refused to recognize. Two separate sets of returns were sent in for presidential electors. Oregon also sent in double returns. If all four States were to be counted Republican, Hayes would have one hundred and eighty-five votes and Tilden one hundred and eighty-four.

Colorado admitted
as the Centennial
State

1876
The national
conventions

Tariff and civil
service reform

Disputed electoral
vote

¹ In 1893 Colorado granted women equal suffrage with men by a constitutional amendment.

Each party claimed the four States. Just at this time, it happened that the Senate was Republican and the House of Representatives Democratic; so, if the two sets of electoral votes were sent to Congress, there could be no agreement; for, according to the Constitution, it is necessary that the two Houses agree upon the result. There was great excitement over this state of affairs. It began to look as if inauguration day would come, and there would be either two presidents or no president; and the Constitution had no provision for such a crisis.

The electoral commission

Rutherford B.
Hayes declared
elected by a joint
high commission

The Electoral
Count bill

At last, Congress agreed to refer the dispute to a joint high commission of five senators, five representatives, and five judges of the Supreme Court. The election was decided by a vote of eight to seven in each case in favor of the Republicans. Rutherford B. Hayes was declared elected just two days before President Grant's term expired. Although some were dissatisfied with the result, all were glad that the dispute was settled.

Meanwhile the Electoral Count bill was passed by Congress to prevent the recurrence of such an electoral dispute. This made each State responsible for the legality of its own vote.

CHAPTER XLVII

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES (NINETEENTH PRESIDENT
1877-1881), REPUBLICAN

ONE of the first acts of President Hayes was to recall the federal troops from the South; and as a result the native white citizens soon came into power again.

The president began a civil service reform. He firmly refused to make changes except where necessary for the public good; and issued an order asking employees not to take part in the management of political organizations.

The new census showed the population of the United States to be over fifty million, and revealed a wonderful advance in commercial prosperity. The cotton crop for the census year, three fourths of which had been raised by free negroes, was the largest known in the history of the South.

During the past decade railroads had carried thousands of settlers who had taken homesteads in the Western States and Territories.

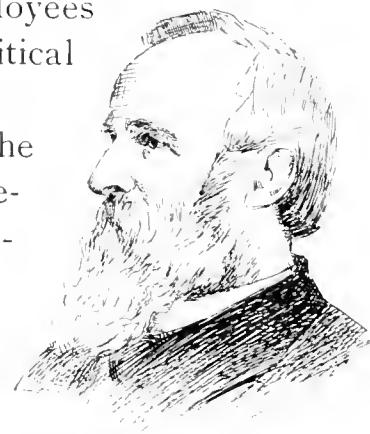
Wheat, canned and pickled meats, butter, cheese, live stock, cotton, and even manufactured articles had been in such demand abroad, on account of preparations for European war, that our exports had reached two and a half million dollars more than our imports.

Now, much of the grain exported was cultivated in the West, yet the distance to the seaboard was so great that transportation rates took almost all the profits of the crops.

Accordingly, the "Grangers," an organization of

The "Grangers"

President Hayes
recalls federal
troops from the
South



RUTHERFORD B. HAYES
1822-1893

Rumors of wars in
Europe create a
demand for
American products

farmers, petitioned Congress for better and cheaper transportation. A Congressional Committee on railroads and canals reported that, according to Section 8, Article 1, of the Constitution, Congress had the right to regulate interstate commerce. This decision was not acted upon at the time, but, as we shall see, was of immense value later on, in passing a law to protect citizens from unjust demands of railroad corporations.

The distribution
of wealth

It was found by the census that wealth was very unequally distributed among the people of the United States. During the Civil war there had been profitable contracts in meat, flour, and clothing for the army, and much speculation in money—immense quantities of paper money being bought when its value was down to forty-eight cents on the dollar, to sell, when the government's credit was restored, for a hundred cents on the dollar. In other ways many had profited by the Civil war.

But more had been made poor by it. Men had shut up shops and factories and left farms and offices to hurry to the defense of their country. It was difficult to get a start again after the war was over. The population had increased so fast that even the tremendous business of the country could not give everybody work.

Capital and labor

"Strikes"

During the panic of 1873, prices went down. Corporations and their employees soon disagreed about wages. There were "strikes," when work was stopped until higher wages were given. Of course, every one had the right to quit work. But the strikers banded together to prevent others from taking their places in the deserted shops.

In a railroad strike, traffic was blocked from New York to San Francisco. More than one hundred lives were lost, and property to the value of three million dollars was destroyed. When the States found them-

selves unable to stop the riots with their militia, President Hayes sent United States troops to help them.

Chinese immigration caused riots on the Pacific coast. The Mongolians had been coming more and more into America since the gold excitement of 1849. Thousands of coolies were kidnapped and brought to America under contract.

In 1868 Anson Burlingame secured Articles from China making it a penal offense to take natives to the United States without their consent. Yet the immigration had continued to increase.

During all these labor troubles, the financial question was prominent in Congress. About the time of the war, many European countries had demonetized silver; that is, they had passed laws that debts should be paid in gold. This made silver cheap in Europe. Because a silver dollar was equal to a gold dollar in the United States, it was profitable to foreigners to buy gold dollars with their cheap silver money.

To prevent foreign countries from doing this, Congress, during Grant's administration, also demonetized silver, making it legal tender only for debts of less than five dollars, and stopped the coinage of silver dollars.

But there being a difference of opinion about the effect of this Act of Congress, silver, during Hayes's administration, was remonetized by the Bland Silver bill; that is, it was again allowed to be used, at the ratio of 16 to 1, to pay debts. The Republican Senate and the Democratic House agreed on this bill, and passed it over the president's veto. Then because people could not well carry all the silver coined for them by the government, they were allowed to deposit the silver in the treasury, and given paper certificates of deposit.

Now for more than sixteen years "greenbacks" had

Chinese immigration

Anson Burlingame

The currency

1873

Demonetization of
silver

1878

Remonetization of
silver under the
Bland bill

"Silver certificates"

been almost the only money in use. The value of this paper money had changed at different times, according to the credit of the government. During the war, and even afterward, greenbacks were cheaper than gold, and people were always trying to change them into coin.

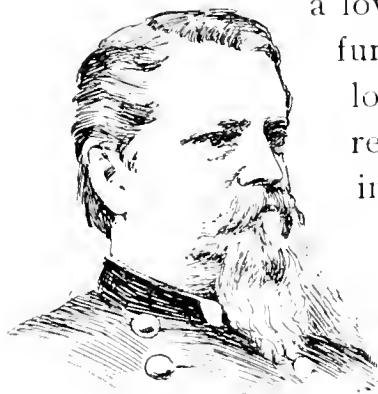
But when, in accordance with the Resumption Act,¹ the government opened the doors of the treasury, and offered to redeem paper money with gold or silver, it was suddenly found how very convenient paper money was. Its value rose until a paper dollar was about as good as a gold dollar. This was because people felt confidence in the government's good will and ability to pay its debt.

As you will remember, the government borrowed a great deal of money to carry on the war. This had been done at a higher rate of interest.

The national credit was now so good, however, that many who had money to loan were willing to loan it at a low rate of interest. So, in harmony with a Refunding Act of Congress, new bonds bearing a low rate of interest were sold, and the money received for them was used to pay off bonds bearing a high rate of interest. This "refunding" saved the government several millions of dollars a year.

At the national conventions there was little difference between the two great parties except on the tariff question. Both were in favor of reforming the civil service, fostering the public schools under the Constitution, and restricting Chinese immigration. The Democrats nominated General Winfield S. Hancock, of New York, for president

1879

Resumption of
specie paymentsRefunding the
national debt

WINFIELD SCOTT HANCOCK

1824-1886

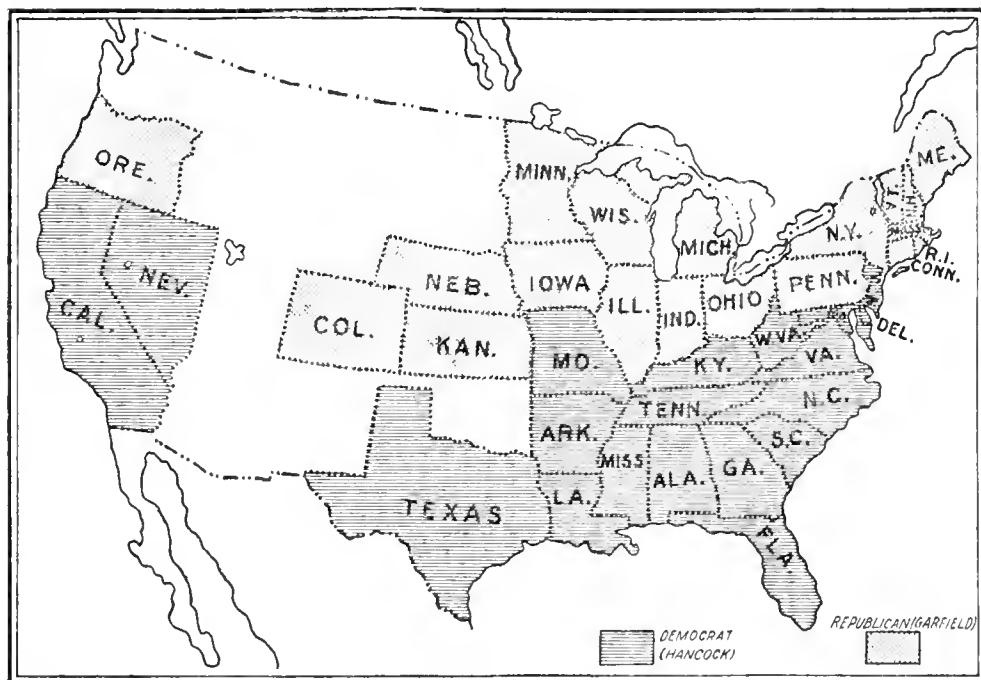
1880
The national
conventions

¹ See page 313.

and William H. English, of Indiana, vice-president; the Republicans, General James A. Garfield, of Ohio, and Chester A. Arthur, of New York.

On the tariff question the Democrats still demanded that customhouse taxation should be for revenue only. The Republicans declared that customhouse duties for revenue should favor American labor in order that "re-

The platforms



ELECTION OF 1880

viving industries should be further promoted and commerce steadily encouraged."

Both parties opposed large grants of land to railroad and other corporations. The Labor party declared against Chinese immigration, the issue of money by national banks, and land grants to railroads, and insisted on the regulation of interstate commerce by the government. They nominated James R. Weaver for president. The Prohibition party nominated Neal Dow.

The Republican nominees were elected.

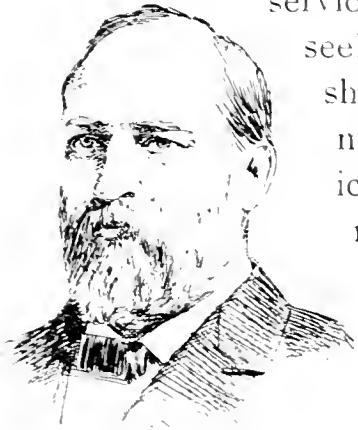
James A. Garfield
elected president

CHAPTER XLVIII

JAMES A. GARFIELD AND CHESTER A. ARTHUR (TWENTIETH AND TWENTY FIRST PRESI- DENTS, 1881-1885), REPUBLICAN

JAMES A. GARFIELD was another example of how success in America depends on talent and personal industry. The orphan farmer boy had risen to the highest place in the gift of the nation.

He began to carry out vigorously the policy of civil service reform. But a horde of hungry office-seekers loudly demanded that federal employees should be discharged to give them places. Many members of Congress who wished to favor political friends were unwilling to adopt civil service reforms.



A black and white engraving portrait of James A. Garfield, showing him from the chest up, wearing a suit and tie. Below the portrait is a caption.

JAMES A. GARFIELD
1831-1881

To escape for a few days from the strain of his new duties President Garfield started for the seashore. In company with James G. Blaine, secretary of state, he entered the railway station at Washington. A few moments later he was shot by a disappointed office-seeker.

The assassin was taken to prison and afterward hanged.

The wounded president, after weeks of suffering, was removed to the seashore. Here he died on the anniversary of the battle of Chickamauga, where he had won much glory. The czar of all the Russias had been assassinated a few weeks before the president. People said it was the system of oppression that had caused the deed. Yet in America, "the land of the free and the home of the brave," evil passion had slain two rulers whom the voice of the people had called to their high place.

1881
The assassination of
President Garfield
July 2

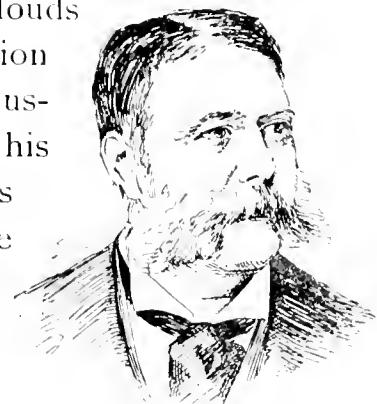
Garfield's death
September 19

It is said that at a mass meeting held in Wall Street, New York, to deplore the assassination of President Lincoln, Garfield was on a platform with other speakers. When the throng threatened to become a mob, Garfield sprang from his seat, seized a flag, and waved it. Thinking he had received a telegram, the people were silent. Pointing toward heaven, Garfield said slowly, and with awe-inspiring voice: "Fellow citizens! 'Clouds and darkness are round about Him! His pavilion is dark waters and thick clouds of the skies! Justice and judgment are the habitations of his throne! Mercy and truth shall go before his face!' Fellow citizens! God reigns: and the government at Washington still lives!" His words caused the crowd to disperse. Men now remembered this incident and many others that had made James A. Garfield, the farmer boy, a leader among leaders.

After President Garfield's death, Vice-President Arthur took the oath of office, and again men might say as Garfield had said: "God reigns, and the government at Washington still lives!"

On October 19, the centennial of the surrender of Cornwallis was celebrated at Yorktown. Guests came up the Tallapoosa on the 18th. Guns were fired as vessel after vessel sailed into the harbor of the little Southern town, bearing President Arthur with most of his cabinet, and the descendants of Lafayette, Steuben, Rochambeau, De Grasse, and other gallant officers who were fighting with Washington when the British troops laid down their arms. The following day when the corner stone of the Yorktown centennial monument was laid, generals from the North and generals from the South helped dedicate the granite. During the naval

1865
Garfield's address to
a mob at the time of
Lincoln's
assassination



CHESTER A. ARTHUR
1830-1886

Vice-president
Arthur becomes
president

1881
The centennial of
the surrender of
Yorktown
October 19

review in the harbor, a salute, by order of the president, was fired by the whole American fleet to the British Union Jack hoisted at the foremast of each ship, in recognition of the peace and good will existing between the United States and the mother country.

Atlanta Cotton
Exposition

That same year a cotton exposition at Atlanta, Ga., brought the manufacturer of the North to the producer of the South. For a hundred years the two had been commercially about as far apart as if the ocean lay between them, and now these countrymen walked and talked together like brothers, as they planned how best to develop their mutual interests.

Many manufacturers saw for the first time the cotton in the field, and planters enjoyed the novelty of watching the busy spindles change their cotton into thread.

Statistics showed that the sixteen crops of cotton made by free labor since the war exceeded by several million bales the sixteen crops before the war. There were frank talks between the men of the North and those of the South, during the Atlanta exposition.

A grandson of John C. Calhoun, the "Father of the Secession," said: "If my grandfather and his associates could have foreseen the present condition of the negro, there would have been neither slavery nor war."

1884
New Orleans Cotton
Exposition

The "New South"

On the centennial of the first shipment of a bale of cotton to England, New Orleans gave a cotton exposition.

But raw cotton in the bales was not now the only pride of the South. The dream of John Randolph was being realized. The cotton gin and the cotton mill were side by side. With vast beds of coal and iron in the mountains, the country was developing manufacturing interests; and trunk lines of railroads were building into new industrial centers.

About this time the *Tradesman*, of Tennessee, declared: "The period is near, when, as a group, the States of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, and Kentucky will become the largest and most successful iron and steel producing district of like area in the world."

A South Carolina paper said: "There is room here for Germans, Scandinavians, Swiss, Scotch, and Yankees," adding, "None but the best are good enough for South Carolina." Accordingly, with both natural resources and citizens extending a welcome, immigration, which was once only toward the north and west, on account of the system of slavery, was also turning southward.

The chief legislative events of President Arthur's administration were the restriction of Chinese immigration for ten years, and the Civil Service Act; both measures were supported by a large majority in Congress without regard to party lines. The Civil Service Act enables the president, with the consent of the Senate, to appoint a board of commissioners to examine the fitness of candidates for federal offices.

Another act of the same year was the reduction of postage from three cents to two cents per half ounce for first-class mail matter to any part of the United States. This made, for long distances, the lowest postal rate in the world. Two years later the rate was reduced to two cents per ounce.

A plan was adopted by the railroad companies, dividing the time-tables of the United States into Eastern time for the territory east of the meridian passing Buffalo and Pittsburg; Central time, reaching thence west to the meridian of North Platte, Neb.; Mountain time, to the meridian of Ogden, Utah; and Pacific

1882

Restriction of
Chinese immigration

1883

The Civil Service
Act

1885

Two cents per ounce
postage

1883

Railroad time-tables

time, extending to the coast. At noon each day, telegraph wires announce the correct time from the national observatory at Washington.

American explorers

1838
Lieutenant Wilkes
in the Antarctic
Ocean

1850
Henry Grinnell in
the Arctic Ocean

1853
Dr. Kane
1860
Captain Hall

1879
An International
Geographical
Congress

1881
Lieutenant Greely
sets out to explore
the Arctic Ocean

For many years the United States had been among the foremost in scientific research. During Van Buren's administration Lieutenant Wilkes, who was sent to the Antarctic Ocean, sailed nearly two thousand miles along the coast of a great Southern continent which the world knew nothing about.

Henry Grinnell, a New York merchant, sent an expedition toward the North Pole to search for Sir John Franklin, the famous explorer, who for five years had been lost in the polar seas. But the ice told no tales of his fate. Then Dr. Kane was sent northward; Captain Hall and his crew followed, and brought home many relics of Sir John. Other expeditions to the polar seas were made with private capital.

Meantime at an International Geographical Congress held in Hamburg, the United States pledged to establish one of a chain of thirteen supply stations toward the North Pole for scientific explorations. Lieutenant Greely, with twenty-five companions, set out soon after the congress, to push farther than any other explorer, if possible; and he did. In Grinnell Land, he found Lake "Hazen," sixty miles long, Mount Arthur, the highest peak of two new mountain ranges, and many rivers and glaciers. The party remained two years in the realm of winter. Several expeditions were sent out in search of them; but ice floes prevented advance toward the Greely station. At length a relief corps found dispatches from Greely in caches along Smith's Sound.

The missing party was discovered with only seven alive. Most of the others had died of starvation. Lieutenant Greely was given the Queen's gold medal by the

Royal Geographical Society of London. He had reached $82^{\circ} 16'$, the farthest point ever before reached in the north.

Meantime Henry M. Stanley had been sent by James Gordon Bennett to Africa in search of David Livingstone, the missionary. Stanley found Livingstone, and continued his explorations into "Darkest Africa." He discovered the Upper Congo, and the monarchs of Europe vied with one another in showering honors upon him.

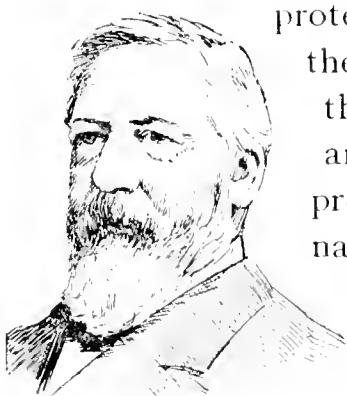
Now by the close of President Arthur's administration nearly half of the great war debt had been paid; but the debt could not all be paid. People who held government bonds thought their money so well invested that they preferred a small interest to a larger one where the risks were greater. With coin jingling in the vaults, the American government was unable to get people to take payment for bonds not due; accordingly a large surplus began to accumulate in the treasury. Congress reduced the tariff to keep money from piling up uselessly. The Democratic party wanted to reduce duties on imported goods still more at the next session of Congress. And again the old question of free trade or protection for home industries came before the people. At the national convention, the Labor party insisted on labor reforms, and nominated Benjamin F. Butler for president. The Prohibition party nominated John P. St. John. The Republican party declared for protection, and nominated James G. Blaine, of Maine, for president, and John A. Logan, of Illinois, for vice-president. The Democratic party advocated reducing the sur-

1868
Henry M. Stanley
sent to Africa



HENRY M. STANLEY
1840

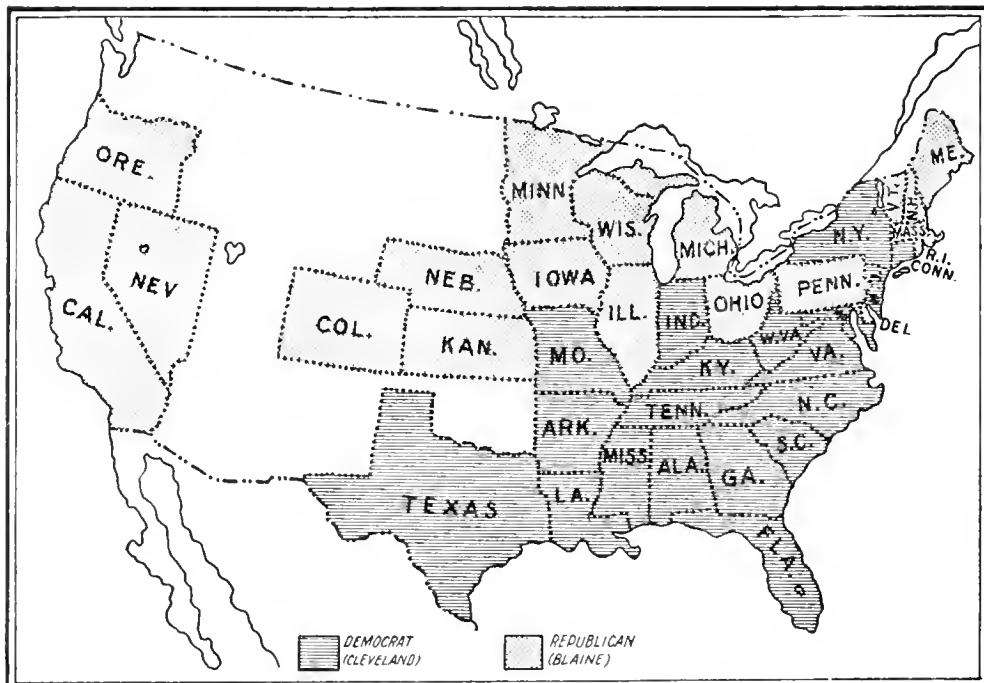
A surplus in
the treasury
1883
tariff reduction



JAMES G. BLAINE
1830-1893

plus revenue by cutting down tariff rates, and nominated Grover Cleveland, of New York, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana.

The Republican nominee, whose readiness in debate had won him the name of the "Plumed Knight," was a great-grandson of Commissary General Blaine, who had helped from his private fortune to furnish food and cloth-



ELECTION OF 1884

ing for Washington's army at Valley Forge. Blaine's popularity with the people was often compared to that of Henry Clay; but like the great leader of the Whigs, he was defeated by the choice of the Democrats.

Grover Cleveland, the son of a clergyman, struggled for an education, working, meanwhile, in a store as chore boy at fifty dollars a year. After a time he became an associate in a law firm in Buffalo. He was elected mayor of Buffalo, then governor of New York, and now his party offered him the highest place within

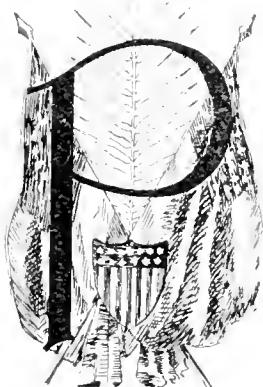
the gift of the people. Many Republicans, who had faith in Cleveland's pledges for civil service reform, voted the Democratic ticket. The Republicans who rallied to the standard of Blaine were called "Stalwarts," and the Independent Republicans, who "scratched their ticket" for Cleveland, were called "Mugwumps," an Indian name meaning chiefs. With Grover Cleveland, the Democratic party came again into power after twenty-five years of defeat.

1884

Grover Cleveland
elected president

CHAPTER XLIX

GROVER CLEVELAND (TWENTY-SECOND PRESIDENT,
1885-1889), DEMOCRATIC



RESIDENT CLEVELAND chose able men for his cabinet. The federal employees began to pack up their belongings, expecting to be removed immediately. But the civil service rules were carried out as much as possible, with few changes except in the higher offices.

Mr. Cleveland had been the choice of the "Solid South," yet in July, when General Grant died, he did all he could to honor the memory of the great military hero. "Let us have peace," Grant had said.¹ Legislatures in the South as well as in the North adjourned in respect to his memory, and eulogies were pronounced upon his life and services.

As the remains were carried to their temporary resting

1885

Death of General
Grant July 23

¹ Read General Grant's "Memoirs," finished just before his death.

place on the bank of the Hudson River, President Cleveland and his cabinet were in the procession. Confederate officers in gray silk sashes mingled with officers in blue. Among the pallbearers was General Buckner who had surrendered to Grant at Fort Donelson. Generals Joseph E. Johnston and William T. Sherman, who had fought each other in the Atlanta campaign, walked side by side at the bier.

1886
"Liberty Enlightening the World" unveiled



GROVER CLEVELAND
1837 -

Labor troubles

Strikes on the
Missouri Pacific

In October of the following year, Bartholdi's statue of "Liberty Enlightening the World," presented to the United States by Frenchmen, was unveiled on Bedloe's

Island in New York harbor. The figure is a watchtower throwing light over the ocean from a torch held three hundred feet above low water in the hand of Liberty. The ceremonies of dedication were similar to those of Yorktown. Distinguished French guests were present; the French tricolor mingled with our red, white, and blue, and hundreds of voices from the frigates in the harbor sang, "Hail Columbia" and the "Marseillaise."

There were labor troubles the first years of President Cleveland's administration. Many rich men seemed to be always getting richer and employees in the factories and other large establishments refused to work without more pay and shorter time. Of course, they had the right to do this. But when many much poorer than themselves attempted to work at the old prices, they prevented them from doing so.

In riots on the Missouri Pacific Railroad, the loss to labor was over a million dollars; to those who would have worked, but were not allowed, a half million; and to the Missouri Pacific three million.

At Chicago forty thousand workmen struck for eight

hours of labor a day. A bomb, thrown by some anarchists, exploded at the feet of the police arresting a rioter, and seven men were killed. After a trial, four of the anarchists implicated were hanged.

Labor strikes were becoming so frequent and so serious that Congress enacted laws to help protect both the employer and the employee. Since one cause of the trouble was thought to be the large number of ignorant workmen brought from Europe by manufacturers to work at lower prices than an American could possibly afford respectably to live upon, Congress passed the Contract Labor bill, forbidding foreigners under contract to come to America.

Congress then passed a still more severe law against Chinese immigration, prohibiting the return from China of laborers who had gone back home.

The death of Vice-President Hendricks again called attention to the defect in the law of succession in the executive office. At the death of President Garfield, Vice-President Arthur became, of course, president, but if he had died in office, no one might legally have taken his place. Congress therefore passed a bill providing that if both the presidency and the vice-presidency are vacant, the presidency passes to the members of the cabinet in rotation, beginning with the secretary of state, because that office was first created.

About that time several blizzards, or wind-storms, swept over the country. Then a severe earthquake shook the very foundations of Charleston, S. C., during which many lives were lost, and several million dollars' worth of property was destroyed. Aid was sent to the sufferers from every State in the Union.

When the time drew near for the hundredth anniversary of the signing of the Constitution of the United

Riots in Chicago

1885

The Contract
Labor bill

1888

The second
restriction of
Chinese immigration

1885

Death of Vice-
president Hendricks
(November 25)

1886

Law of succession
in the presidency

Blizzards and
earthquakes

States, it was decided to celebrate the event. Philadelphia, where the Constitution was signed, was chosen as the place for the exercises. Here stood the old red brick Federal Hall, just as it was a hundred years before, with its relics of our early patriots.

1887

The centennial of
the signing of the
Constitution

(September 17)

On September 17, the celebration began. President Cleveland and members of his cabinet, the chief justice and his associates, the governors of States, and other distinguished guests witnessed a parade. One hundred and fifty bands of music filled the air with martial strains, as the line marched from ten o'clock in the morning till after six in the evening.

Gladstone's arch

In letters of gold on a great arch were written the words of Gladstone: "I think the Constitution of the United States represents the most admirable creation that has ever been produced by one effort of human intelligence."

Through this arch marched the mighty columns. They represented with floats the progress of the people under the Constitution. It was said that it all seemed like a sleep of Rip Van Winkle. A hundred years of prosperity and progress had wrought changes that people could hardly believe possible. Even Franklin, the philosopher, whose ashes lay near this very scene, did not conceive that the science he loved and the greatness of man which he believed in so thoroughly could accomplish such wonders as these living pictures revealed.

Means of
transportation

Perhaps the most marvelous changes in the hundred years were in the methods of transportation. Railroads had multiplied until about six thousand miles of tracks were built each year. They employed a standing force of three hundred and fifty thousand men,—workers in mines and iron factories, car builders, tie cutters, track layers, train men, etc. It was a great army of peace,

one half, in proportion to the population, of the standing army kept for war in France or Germany.

These vast railway systems of the United States were of immense benefit to the country. Yet it became necessary to make laws to prevent the companies from using their power unjustly. Of course if a railroad has its lines all within one State, it is under the control of that State; but Congress passed the Interstate Commerce Act to prevent railroads which passed through more than one State from charging unfair rates for carrying produce. A board of commissioners was appointed to hear and judge complaints against railroads that should disobey the law.

There were some foreign matters of interest to the government during the administration of President Cleveland. Americans, since the discovery of gold in California, had talked a great deal about digging a canal across Nicaragua, but little had been done besides getting the right of way from the little republic.

Meantime a French company began digging across the Isthmus of Panama, under the direction of Ferdinand de Lesseps, the skilful engineer who had successfully completed the Suez Canal. Much was expected from a canal which would bring Asia nearer to the ports of Europe.

Americans felt they should have jurisdiction over any water way which could control the commerce across our hemisphere, and thus the Monroe doctrine came up again. The nations of Europe began to discuss the American claims; but the canal enterprise failed. Outrageous frauds had been perpetrated. The leaders of the Panama Company were tried in the French courts. Many were sent to prison. Some committed suicide. To-day the machinery of the company lies rusting in the marshes of the isthmus.

1887

The Interstate
Commerce Act

1880

Ferdinand de
Lesseps begins
work on the
Panama CanalThe canal and the
Monroe doctrine

The fisheries

Samoa

Appropriations to increase the navy

The war on trusts

1888

The department of labor established

The national conventions

High tariff or free trade?

Now the talk about the Panama Canal, some disputes with Great Britain about American fishermen getting ice and bait on Canadian soil, and disagreement with Germany concerning Samoa, a group of islands in the Pacific, set Congress to talking about what a poor navy we had to defend the Monroe doctrine. The need of a better navy became so apparent that Congress appropriated large sums of money to build ironclad steamers of the swiftest and most improved pattern.

There was a war on "trusts." These were combinations of manufacturers, organized to keep prices up against cheap competition. Many bills against trusts were introduced in Congress. An independent department of labor was established "to acquire and diffuse among the people of the United States useful information on subjects connected with labor, and especially upon its relation to capital, the hours of labor, the earnings of laboring men and women, and the means of promoting their material, social, intellectual, and moral prosperity."

President Cleveland strongly opposed a protective tariff, and at the national conventions the question of imports came to the front again. Grover Cleveland was renominated by the Democrats, with Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio, vice-president.

The Republicans nominated Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, and Levi P. Morton, of New York. The Prohibition party and two Labor parties were in the field.

The campaign was very exciting; but, as usual, the strongest parties were the Democrats and the Republicans. The Democrats claimed that protective tariffs are robbery; the Republicans claimed that free trade puts American manufacturers in competition with the pauper-made products of Europe. Tariff and Free

Trade clubs were organized all over the country. The Democrats were divided in support of their candidate. President Cleveland had displeased some reformers by not pushing the civil service laws strongly enough, and had made enemies of others by pushing these laws too far.

Benjamin Harrison was elected the twenty-third president of the United States, with a Republican House and Senate.

Benjamin Harrison
elected president

CHAPTER L

BENJAMIN HARRISON (TWENTY-THIRD PRESIDENT, 1889-1893), REPUBLICAN

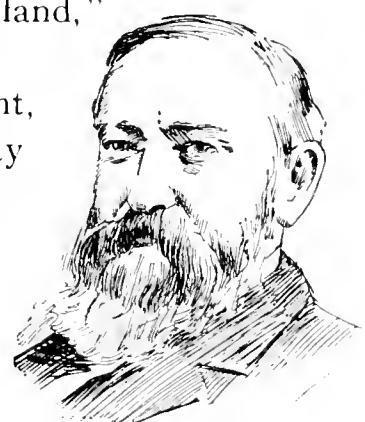
As we have seen, Indian Territory was set apart for Indians during the administration of President Jackson. The Seminoles, having much more land than they could ever occupy, sold Oklahoma, "the beautiful land," to the United States.

1889
Oklahoma opened
for settlement
(April 22)

When Oklahoma was opened for settlement, there was a rush for homesteads. On the day appointed for occupancy, fifty thousand people encamped on the borders of the territory. At the sound of a bugle each man hurried to find the best claim and stake it off. Land offices, set up on the prairies, were soon packed to overflowing with those ready to file their claims.

Tents, huts, and pallets under the open sky sheltered the immigrants. Towns sprang up in every direction. In four months, Guthrie had five thousand inhabitants, and was a fine town with broad avenues and handsome

Guthrie and
Oklahoma City



BENJAMIN HARRISON
1833—

business blocks, several banks, churches, street-car lines, electric lights, and a system of waterworks. Oklahoma City was almost as large as Guthrie. By December there were sixty thousand inhabitants in the Territory.

The Sioux reservation

The following year, when the Sioux reservation in South Dakota was opened for settlement, the eager rush for homes was repeated.

Now these Dakota lands had been purchased from the Indians by the government; but it has always been impossible for the red men to understand the nature of such a transaction. The Dakota Indians only realized that the hunting grounds were going from them, and once more they rallied to save them.

Thousands of warriors in paints and feathers held ghost dances to prepare for the coming of the Great Spirit, who would bring back the buffalo. The frenzy grew until the border States were in such danger that United States troops scattered the tribes to the reservations.

Meantime four new States, Montana, Washington, North Dakota, and South Dakota, were admitted to the Union. The following year, Idaho¹ and Wyoming² were admitted.

By this time there was no unclaimed public land in Kansas and very little in Nebraska. To protect settlers in the West from speculators, Congress made stricter homestead laws by which only those who would occupy the land could file claims.

To protect American workingmen from the immigration of unworthy foreigners, Congress forbade criminals,

1890
Trouble with the
Sioux Indians

1889
Admission of
Montana,
Washington, North
Dakota, and
South Dakota

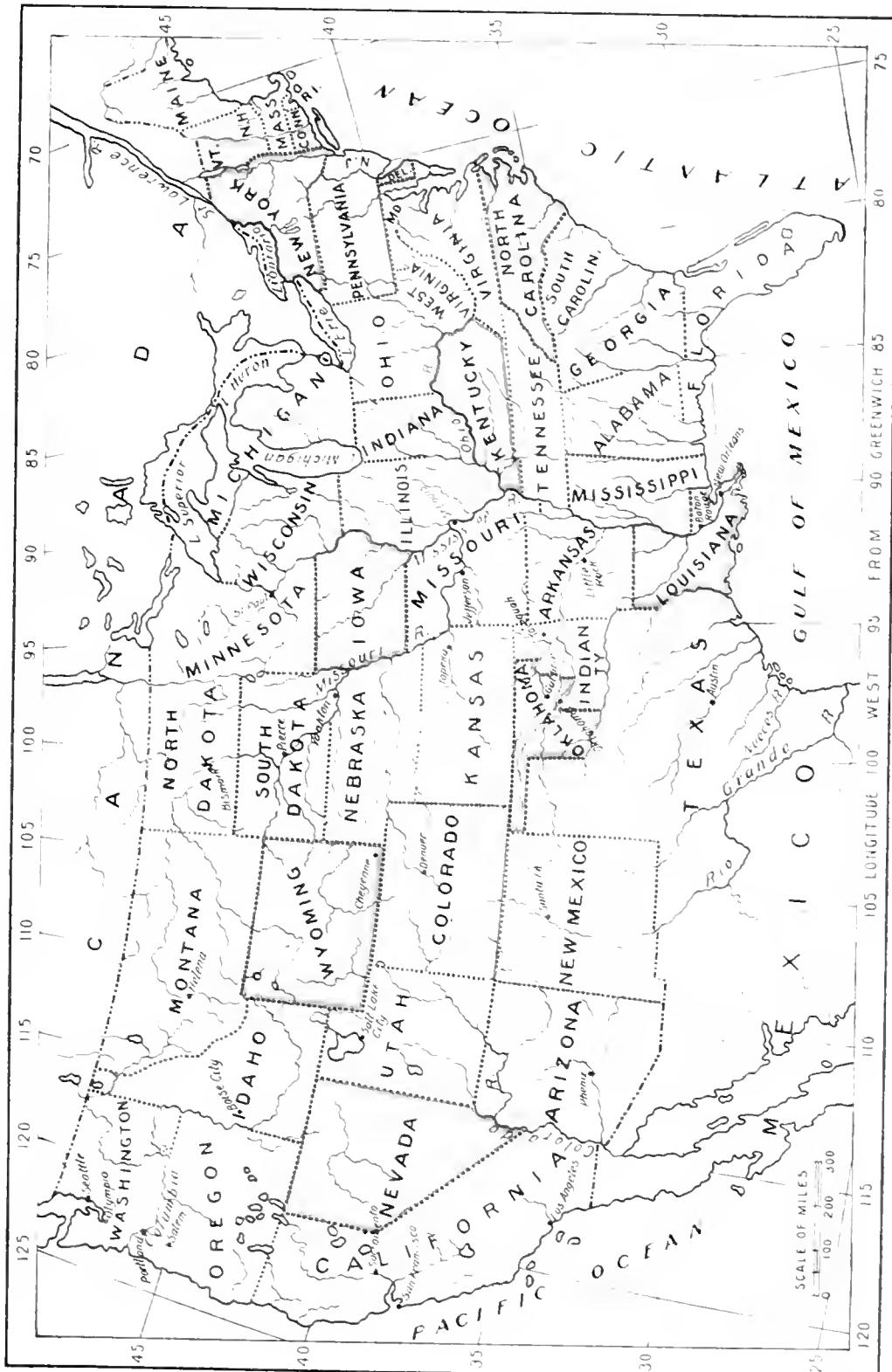
1890
Idaho and Wyoming

Homestead laws

1891
Contract labor laws

¹ In 1896 Idaho granted women equal suffrage with men by a constitutional amendment.

² Wyoming incorporated an equal suffrage clause in its State constitution.



UNITED STATES IN 1840

paupers, and laborers under contract to enter our ports. Those found disobeying this law were to be sent back to Europe at the expense of the steamship company that brought them over.

Chinese immigration was again forbidden for ten years; and an eight-hour labor law was passed for all employees of the government.

Now a Republican Congress and a Republican president could enact laws to suit themselves. But judgment on their acts would be passed at the polls; and so legislators looked closely to the will of the people. It seemed to the Republicans that a high tariff was what the people wanted, and the Mc Kinley bill was passed, raising the tariff on almost all imported goods.

A part of this tariff law, granting a free exchange with several European nations for certain articles not produced at home, carried out a reciprocity plan of James G. Blaine, secretary of state.

About this time delegates from the republics of Central and South America and Mexico met our own delegates at Washington in a Pan-American congress.

There had already been many efforts to unite American interests. Simon Bolivar, who had helped the Spanish colonies of South America win their freedom, tried to have a Pan-American congress. "America for Americans" was the motto of Bolivar. But for various reasons his efforts were not successful. Other attempts to form a Pan-American alliance had failed. But this congress, largely due to the skill of Secretary Blaine, was very successful. Eighteen independent nations, including Haiti, were represented at Washington. A reciprocity treaty was concluded which agreed to an exchange of products. Certain articles not produced in the United States might thus be sold without tariff at all our ports,

1892

The third Chinese
restriction law
The eight-hour
labor law for
government
employees

The Mc Kinley
Tariff bill

Reciprocity

The Pan-American
congress

1826

Bolivar attempted to
establish a Pan-
American alliance

Reciprocity between
the United States
and other American
republics

and, on the same terms, South American ports were opened to the commerce of the United States. An intercontinental railroad was agreed upon, and a plan of arbitration adopted by which matters of dispute were to be settled by a board of commissioners instead of armies.

1889

The islands of Samoa

About this time a dispute was settled with Germany by arbitration. In the islands of Samoa, which were under a German protectorate, we have a coaling station. Some American residents had succeeded in setting up claims for an American protectorate, but the United States disavowed their acts.

Bering Sea
arbitration

Disputes with Great Britain about the destruction of the Alaska fur seals by her sailors were also settled by arbitration. Thousands of seals were killed every year on their way through Bering Strait from one part of Alaska to another. Great Britain claimed that the seals killed were outside of American waters, and refused to take measures to prevent the slaughter. This question was decided by a jury of arbitration which gave protection to our seal industry, although our claim of control over Bering Strait was not allowed.

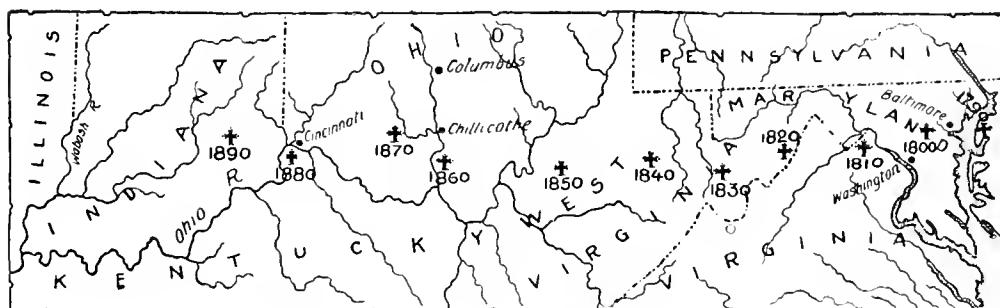
The Hawaiian
question

Then the attention of the whole country was turned to Hawaii. The Sandwich Islands southwest of California, with a population of about 90,000 made up the little kingdom of Hawaii. They are very fertile islands. The natives are of the Malayan race. Many years ago missionaries visited the islands, and labored to convert the people to Christianity. When British and American capitalists learned how profitable the sugar industry was, they laid out plantations and imported Japanese, Chinese, and Malayans to cultivate them. Before our Civil war, the leading enterprises were in the hands of Americans who urged the annexation of the islands to

the United States. The king at that time favored annexation. But his successor had once been ejected as a negro from a hotel in the United States. He and his friends bitterly opposed annexation. "Hawaii for Hawaiians" was their motto.

After a few years the Princess Liliuokalani came to the throne. When she attempted to restrict the liberties of her subjects, they arose in rebellion. To protect our citizens, a detachment of American marines was placed about the American consulate. The queen was deposed. A provisional government was created by the natives which requested the protection of the American consul. The American flag was placed on the government buildings, and the republic of Hawaii was recognized by most of the European powers.

When the new republic asked to be annexed to the United States, President Harrison favored annexation and the majority of the Senate seemed to favor it; but before a treaty was ratified, the administration of Harrison came to an end.



MOVEMENT OF THE CENTER OF POPULATION.

Meanwhile the census had been taken. The population of the United States was found to be over sixty-two and a half million. New York ranked the third greatest city in the world with over a million and a half inhabitants. Chicago was next in size in the United

1850

Queen Liliuokalani

1892

A provisional government formed

The president favors annexation

1890

The census

The center of
population

The Columbian
Centennial
Exposition agreed
upon

The "White City"
on the shore
of Lake Michigan.

1892
The centennial of
the landing of
Columbus

(October 21)

States with over a million. The center of population had moved forty miles west and nine miles north since the last census, and was twenty miles east of Columbus, Ind.

After some discussion it was agreed to celebrate the discovery of America by giving a World's Fair. Congress decided to locate the buildings at Chicago, because that city was so near the center of the population.

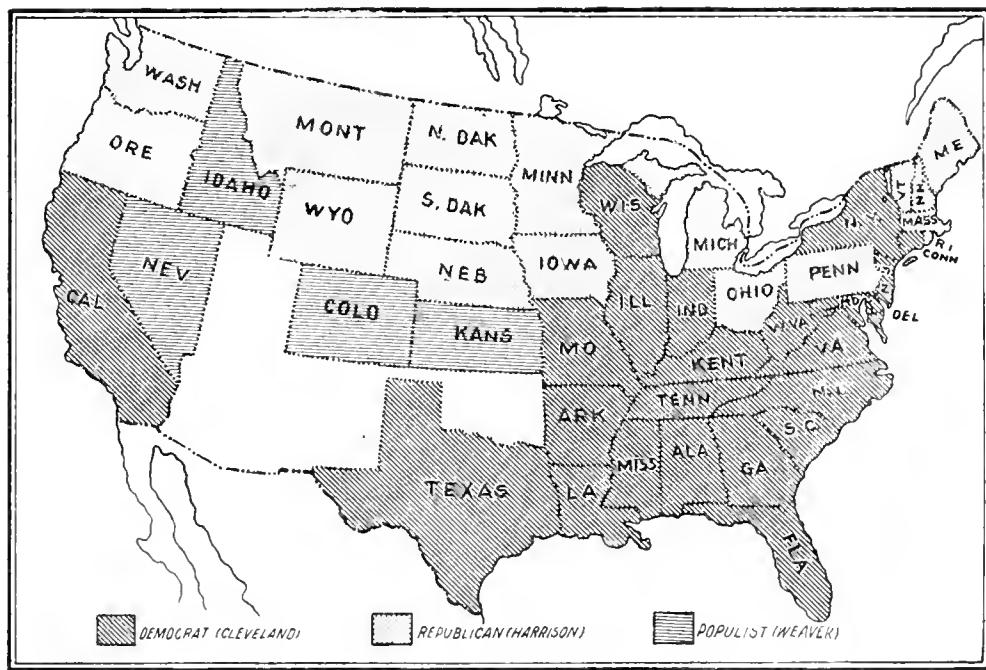
In Washington's administration, during a debate about where the national capital should be located, Fisher Ames said it would be near a century before the people of the "immeasurable wilderness" of the Ohio would be considerable. The Ohio valley was called in those times the "back pasture" of the United States; and now at the close of a century this back pasture was made the gathering place of the whole world.

Chicago, known as the "Phœnix City" because it had arisen so quickly from the ashes, decided that the United States should not regret the choice for the location of the World's Fair. Rich and poor contributed to the work of preparing suitable grounds. In the south part of the city, near Lake Michigan, a space four times that of any other exhibition grounds was laid out into canals, lagoons, and gardens. Thousands of workmen paved avenues, spanned waters with bridges, spread miles of green turf, and reared palaces and castles of wonderful beauty.

On the 21st of October, the day that Christopher Columbus first landed on American soil, work on the buildings was suspended, President Harrison was detained in Washington by the bedside of his dying wife, and Vice-President Morton represented the government on this four hundredth anniversary. Two hundred thousand people collected in the unfinished Manufacture's

building to take part in the ceremonies. A Columbian hymn was sung. Eloquent addresses were made, and in the evening there were fine displays of fireworks.

The following day, work on the grounds began again. Ships from over fifty foreign nations bore precious cargoes for Chicago, and the railways were burdened with freight. Everything was hurried to be in place by the



first day of May, when the fair would be formally opened.

Meanwhile the national conventions presented their candidates. President Harrison was renominated by the Republicans, ex-President Cleveland was again chosen by the Democrats, John Bidwell was nominated by the Prohibitionists, and General Weaver, of Iowa, by the Populists, who had formed a new party, the outgrowth of the Grangers, the Farmers' Alliance, and other organizations for the protection of the farmer. The Populists demanded more restriction in foreign immigration,

The national
conventions

The Populist party

government control of railroads, a tax on incomes, and the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at the ratio of 16 to 1.

The main issues of the campaign, however, were protection and free trade. The vote at this election was perhaps more nearly the voice of the people than ever before. Several States had adopted the Australian ballot system of election, whereby the voter prepares and folds his ballot alone in a booth, so that no one can dictate to him, or know how he votes. The new Populist party developed unexpected strength at the polls, and cast twenty-two electoral votes from the States west of the Mississippi.

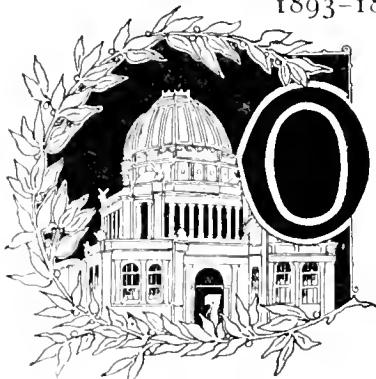
The Australian
ballot system

Grover Cleveland
elected president

Grover Cleveland was elected president for the second time, with both branches of Congress Democratic.

CHAPTER LI

GROVER CLEVELAND (TWENTY-FOURTH PRESIDENT,
1893-1897), DEMOCRATIC



ONE of the first acts of the new administration was to assist in opening the World's Fair at Chicago. On the first day of May, surrounded by many distinguished guests, among whom were the Duke of Veragua, the

last lineal descendant of Columbus, representatives of foreign courts, and governors of many States, President Cleveland touched an electric button. Flags of all nations unfurled from the towers of the White City on the

1893
Formal opening of
the Columbian
Exposition at
Chicago (May 1)

shores of Lake Michigan, fountains leaped into the air, ponderous wheels went round with solemn motion, spindles and shuttles in the looms began their ceaseless toil, chimes rang out, artillery boomed, and bands of music played national airs.

A mixture of plaster and fiber, used in constructing the buildings, gave the effect of purest marble, and reproduced the best styles of architecture known to the world.

In the Court of Honor stood a golden statue of our Republic. Near by on the peristyle was the Columbian group to exalt the memory of the great navigator who had given a New World to the Old.

The Administration building towered above the others as a vestibule leading into a bewildering array of other structures. Beyond the "golden door" of the Transportation building were exhibited the methods of the world for going by land, water, and air. Fulton, Stephenson, Watt, Ericsson, and other great inventors looked down from their pedestals upon the changes made in the last few years in methods of transportation.

In the Hall of Mines and Mining stood the figure of Justice, molded from the silver of Montana. Here the white marble blocks of Greece and Italy stood by the colored marbles of Tennessee and Georgia. The granite of New England, the coal of the Middle States, the clays and minerals of the South, and the gold and silver of the West made fine displays. All the methods employed in taking the precious metals from the earth were shown by actual labor.

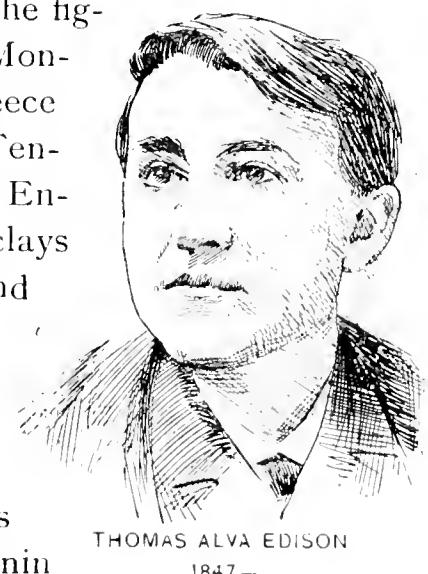
In the Electrical building, the exhibit was beyond description. A statue of Benjamin

The Court of Honor

The Administration
building

The Transportation
building

The Hall of Mines
and Mining



THOMAS ALVA EDISON
1847—

The Electrical
building



NIKOLA TESLA

1858—

The Machinery
building

Franklin, who "snatched the lightning from the skies," towered in a niche above the whole, and beneath him lay spread out the achievements of his disciples.

The United States stood first in this exhibit as a whole, though Germany, France, and England excelled in some departments of applied electricity. Germany showed a search lamp that had given light at Frankfort to a lawn party forty-five miles away, and France an arc light of two hundred candle power. But the names of Thomas Edison and of his student Nikola Tesla were spoken in all languages at the White City.

People said that there was no knowing what Edison, the "Wizard of Menlo Park," might yet do; for he claimed to be only on the threshold of electrical science.

In the Machinery building, across the grand Court of Honor, was one engine twice the size of the famous Corliss at the Philadelphia Exposition; and the power that kept the machinery on the grounds moving was equal to twenty-four thousand horse power. Every conceivable department of industry seemed to be represented in Machinery Hall, from the latest device of threading a needle to the giant printing press.

The Manufactures and Fine Arts building was the largest in the world, sheltering over two hundred thousand people under one roof. So many things were exhibited here, that, according to a mathematician, if one spent five hours each day, and lost no time in eating or resting, one would require two hundred years to inspect each article two minutes.

There were the Forestry building, the Fisheries building, the Live Stock pavilion, and the structures set apart for State and national displays.

La Rabida

In the quiet convent of La Rabida were kept sacred

the relics of the great discoverer. Near by, in the lake, were models of the Spanish caravels, the *Santa Maria*, the *Pinta*, and the *Niña*, just as they appeared, four hundred years before, when they sailed out of the harbor of Palos in quest of a new world.

The *Santa Maria*,
the *Pinta*, and
the *Niña*

Near these was moored the reproduction of a Viking ship with dragon-head prow, in which, it is thought, Leif, the son of Eric the Red, discovered the coast of Massachusetts many years before Columbus touched the shore of the West Indies.

The Viking ship

In the Midway Plaisance were the curious tribes and races of men in their villages. To stroll down a street in Cairo, to turn a corner in old Nuremburg, to catch a glimpse of Jerusalem, or venture boldly into Dahomey was called an every-day recreation. And then, not content with taking the wonderful scene piece by piece, the visitor entered the Ferris Wheel, and, from the glass windows of a parlor car suspended in the air, looked far down upon gardens, lakes, and pillared palaces.

The Midway
Plaisance

The Ferris Wheel

The Fair grounds became a great market place, where the world might buy and sell. But barter and sale was not the only object sought in this Columbian Centennial. For the first time in the history of World's Fairs, commerce seemed to be second in view.

Philosophy and the arts had high rank in the attention of visitors. There were world congresses to discuss music, painting, and sculpture; there was a parliament of religions where the disciple of the Chinese Confucius had an equal hearing with the Roman Catholic and the Lutheran Protestant. Philosophers, educators, critics, poets, and historians met in convention. The whole circle of human endeavor was widened by this coming together of the best that the world can give in the thought of to-day.

The world
congresses

The close of the
World's Fair
October 30)

When the thirtieth day of October came, all the great wheels ceased their turning; the fountains dripped away, and the noise of trumpet, drum, and human voice was heard no more in the White City; but the Fair had really only just begun its great work.

Each departing guest took to his home the lessons he had learned, and taught them to others, through the press, the pulpit, the lecture platform, or by the quiet fireside. Perhaps if he were an architect he told the story in some grand public building, or if a painter his canvas took on new colors, or if he were a farmer he talked to his fellow farmers of better methods than their own for raising crops. All classes of people received new ideas at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893.

Even while the World's Fair was in progress, financial troubles, which soon developed into a panic, were causing anxiety to our government.

There were different opinions about the origin of the panic. Many thought it was on account of the currency. When Alexander Hamilton was secretary of the treasury, gold and silver, at the ratio of fifteen to one, were made legal tenders in payment of debts. But the silver dollar was considered the standard unit of value until soon after the discovery of gold in California, when the gold dollar was included in the coinage; the standard unit of value was said to exist in both silver and gold dollars.

Then Congress, as we have seen,¹ enacted the law that the gold dollar should be the standard unit of value; and the silver was only legal tender for debts of less than five dollars.

1873
A gold standard

1878
The Bland Silver bill

The Bland bill, however, remonetized silver with

¹ See page 321.

standard silver dollars legal tender for debts except when otherwise stated in the contract. During Harrison's administration the Sherman bill became a law. This provided for the purchase of silver bullion to be paid for in treasury notes; the silver notes to be redeemed in either gold or silver. To redeem greenbacks and Sherman silver notes so much gold was paid out that it began to look as if the gold would be gone from the United States treasury vaults, and only the piles of silver left. The money market became more and more nervous, and President Cleveland called a special session of Congress. After a long debate, the Sherman Silver Purchase law was repealed.

The financial depression continued. Shops and factories closed, and no investments were made in any department of business. Thousands were thrown out of employment, and the wages of those still employed were cut down.

Strikes began among the coal miners. Four fifths of the soft coal product of the United States was stopped. The coal strike lasted three months. Over twelve million dollars were lost in wages by the miners, and about twenty million more by employers and other business men.

There were railroad strikes, which spread through most of the Western States to the Pacific coast. The United States mails were stopped because the inter-state railway traffic was destroyed. The Constitution gave the federal government authority over this traffic. Accordingly, on complaint of the post-office department, President Cleveland sent United States troops to Chicago. Mobs were dispersed and order was restored.

Meantime the cotton spinners and weavers of the New England States struck for better wages. Some factories

1890
The Sherman Purchase Act

1893
A special session of Congress

Repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act (November 1)

Strikes among the coal miners

The railroad strikes spread to the Pacific coast

President Cleveland sends troops to Chicago

Strikes in the mills
of New England

1894
Coxey's army

Coxey and his
officers arrested

1894
The Wilson
Tariff bill

were able to maintain the old rates, but many closed their doors because their owners were bankrupt.

Early in the spring while the strikes were thus spreading, J. S. Coxey, of Massillon, Ohio, formed the plan of taking a grand industrial army to Washington to demand relief for the country's woes at the hands of Congress.

Several hundred men soon rallied to his standard, and in March the "Commonweal army" set out on its journey. Other armies were formed as far west as the State of Washington; soon about ten thousand men were marching toward the capital, generally begging for food as they went. They were not all "tramps," however; many were skilled workmen, and fully two thirds of them were English speaking.

They talked as they went, these recruits of the unemployed. But the way was long. Men began to drop out of the ranks. When the vanguards reached Washington, they were worn out, ragged, and hungry. They gathered on the lawn of the capitol to listen to a speech from Colonel Coxey; the patrol informed them that the laws of the District of Columbia forbade unofficial parades through the grounds; and when the little band insisted on its march, Colonel Coxey and his officers were arrested. In a few days Coxey's commonweal army disbanded. Other armies still on the road toward Washington became discouraged, and dispersed. And then the newspapers announced that the legislation of the country was again left to Congress where the framers of the Constitution intended it should be.

The Democratic Congress passed the Wilson Tariff bill, lowering the tariff on some imports and placing several articles on the free list. The entire schedule averaged about one fourth lower than that of Mc Kinley. The Wilson bill was really a compromise, but it was

condemned by the extreme high tariff advocates as a free-trade measure, and by the extreme free-trade advocates as a protective measure. The moderate tariff factions accepted its provisions without debate.

Meantime foreign affairs demanded the serious attention of the president and Senate. First of all was the Hawaiian question. President Harrison, as we have seen, left annexation papers to be ratified by the next administration, but President Cleveland did not favor adding more territory to the United States.

He sent a special envoy to Hawaii who reported, when he returned, that the American consul at Honolulu had given undue aid in the revolution of the islands, and that American troops were keeping the rightful ruler of Hawaii from her throne. President Cleveland then ordered that until our government had determined its course of action in the affairs of Hawaii, the American flag should be removed from the public buildings, and the American sailors and marines should return to the steamer *Boston*, in the harbor.

Meantime the new republic had grown strong enough to maintain itself without troops. The ex-queen renounced her claims, and Hawaii became an independent government with its elected president and congress.

The Republic
of Hawaii

1893

CHAPTER LII

GROVER CLEVELAND (1893-1897) (CONTINUED) DEMOCRATIC

HARDLY had the debates about Hawaii on the west of us ceased, when the island of Cuba on the east of us demanded attention.

Soon after our Civil war, the oppressions of the Spanish government in Cuba became unbearable to the natives. A revolution broke out, which continued ten years. Among the leaders in the uprising were two young patriots, Gomez and Maceo. The struggle was so bitter that of the hundred and forty-five thousand troops sent from Spain to conquer the island, it is said not enough returned to make a single regiment.

Gomez and Maceo
in the Cuban
revolution

1878
Cuba agreed to
peace with
autonomy
Slavery in Cuba
abolished

José Martí,
the patriot

Then, with the hope of autonomy, or self-government, somewhat after that of Canada, a treaty of peace was made. Slavery was abolished, and the exhausted island began to cultivate its fertile fields again. But the long war had left the population of two million with a debt of one hundred dollars for every man, woman, and child. New governors were appointed by Spain who began to again extort money from the province by taxes, fines, and imprisonment. The whole island was put under military control.

During the revolution, a boy of fifteen, José Martí, had been sent to Spain in chains for writing seditious articles for the press. Martí escaped from prison, and became a brilliant journalist. He sought out exiled Cuban patriots in the United States and South America, and formed them into clubs of revolutionists who swore to set Cuba free. Money, arms, and ammunition were

conveyed secretly to Cuba. When all was ready, the Cubans again claimed themselves a republic, with José Martí governor. The old flags of the former revolution were brought out again,—blue and white bars with a red union on which is a single white star.

Gómez was appointed commander in chief of the Cuban army with Maceo lieutenant general. Spain hurried more troops across the sea. Martí was assassinated; but war was waged until more than half of the island was in possession of the native Cubans.

In February, 1896, the republic asked the United States to grant the rights of belligerency. The request closed with these words: "People of the free and glorious United States, Cuba appeals to you. She asks that you raise your voice in her behalf. She asks that you announce to the world that, at least as against the tyrant, she be given an equal chance. Cuba, the bleeding, appeals to her American sisters. She does it in the name of God, of justice, of civilization, of America!" There was great enthusiasm over this appeal. Recruits rallied in almost every State to be ready to sail for Cuba. In March, Congress passed resolutions recommending that the Cubans be given belligerent rights, and that the United States remain neutral, but that our immense business interests on the island should be protected if necessary.

President Cleveland took no action on these recommendations of Congress. There was much involved in the question. Our treaties with Spain were all that could be desired. On account of the filibustering expedition of Lopez, and the many attempts of our government to purchase the island, we had been accused by European powers of desiring the independence of the "Gem of the Antilles," that we might annex it to the

1895
Marti proclaimed
governor of the
republic of Cuba

1896
The Cubans ask
belligerent rights
of the United States

Congress passes
resolutions to give
Cuba belligerent
rights

The president
hesitates

Death of Maceo

Venezuela and the
Monroe doctrine

1896

The increase of
the navyUtah admitted
(January 4)The progress of
the Indians

United States. Conflicting reports came from Cuba. The republic was said to be unable to maintain itself. Meanwhile the slaughter continued. Maceo was betrayed into an ambush, and killed. But Gomez took the field; and the cruel war went on.

During the controversy on the Hawaiian and Cuban questions, the Monroe doctrine was often quoted; but in a threatened war between Great Britain and Venezuela about boundary lines, the doctrine was much more involved. President Cleveland and Congress united in appointing commissioners to investigate the boundary line between British Guiana and Venezuela. The president declared that whatever land should be found to belong to Venezuela should be protected. Great Britain agreed upon five commissioners to locate the disputed line. The report of this Court of Arbitration was finally signed by Great Britain and Venezuela.

All these complications with European powers caused Congress to urge the improvement of our coast defenses and the increase of our navy. Five new battle ships, six gunboats, sixteen torpedo boats, and one submarine torpedo boat were ordered to be built, thus making our navy rank among the strongest in the world. That same year Utah was admitted into the Union as the forty-fifth State.¹

Meantime troubles with the Indians seemed to be ceasing altogether. One reason for this was that many of the leading Indians on the reservations had gone into farming or "ranching" on their own account.

The five great tribes in Indian Territory, numbering about ninety thousand, have always held their lands in common. This method of living has never been suc-

¹ Utah incorporated an equal suffrage clause in its State constitution.

cessful even with the white race, as we have seen at Jamestown and Plymouth. No colony can prosper till its citizens have personal property interests. And the red men of Indian Territory, seeing this, after all these years, began to change their mode of life. The Creeks and the Choctaws signed treaties to take homesteads for themselves, and sell the remaining lands in their territory to the United States. Other tribes will probably follow their example, and with each Indian family on a farm of its own, the vexed Indian question may be solved.

Creeks and
Choctaws take
homesteads

In spite of the restrictions to foreign immigrations, immigrant ships were kept busy bringing Europeans to our shores. From the census of 1880 to that of 1890, over five million foreigners landed. Nearly three hundred and fifty thousand came in 1896. About three thousand of these were sent back as paupers and criminals at the expense of the steamship companies.

Foreign
immigration

The majority of those who landed were of the thrifty laboring class who brought with them over five million dollars; yet more than one fourth, over fourteen years old, could neither read nor write.

According to the laws of most of our States, a man may vote when he has become naturalized, and been a resident of the State long enough. So it happens that many thousand votes are cast on the most important subjects of tariff, currency, internal improvements, and foreign relations, by men who neither read nor write, and thus become the tools of scheming politicians.

To remedy this defect, Congress introduced a resolution that would practically exclude illiterate foreigners. This bill provided that all immigrants over sixteen years of age who could not read or write should be sent back, except parents over fifty years old, or a wife, or a

1897

The Immigration
bill against illiterate
foreigners vetoed by
President Cleveland

child who is a minor, dependent on the support of a qualified immigrant. The bill passed both Houses, but was vetoed by President Cleveland.

Meantime the financial depression which began during the time of the Columbian Exposition continued. Some said it was caused through lack of confidence in the administration, others argued that the repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchasing Act, and still others that the Wilson Tariff law was the source of the whole difficulty. Because there were such various opinions, there were several different national conventions.

Bimetallism and
Monometallism

It soon became evident that the currency was the most important question in the minds of the people. There was a great deal of talk about bimetallism and monometallism. Bimetallists demanded that since gold is coined free and in unlimited quantities, silver should also be so coined, and that both should be legal tender in payment of all debts. Monometallists demanded that gold should be declared by law the sole unit of value in the payment of debts.

1896
The eleventh
national convention
of the Republicans

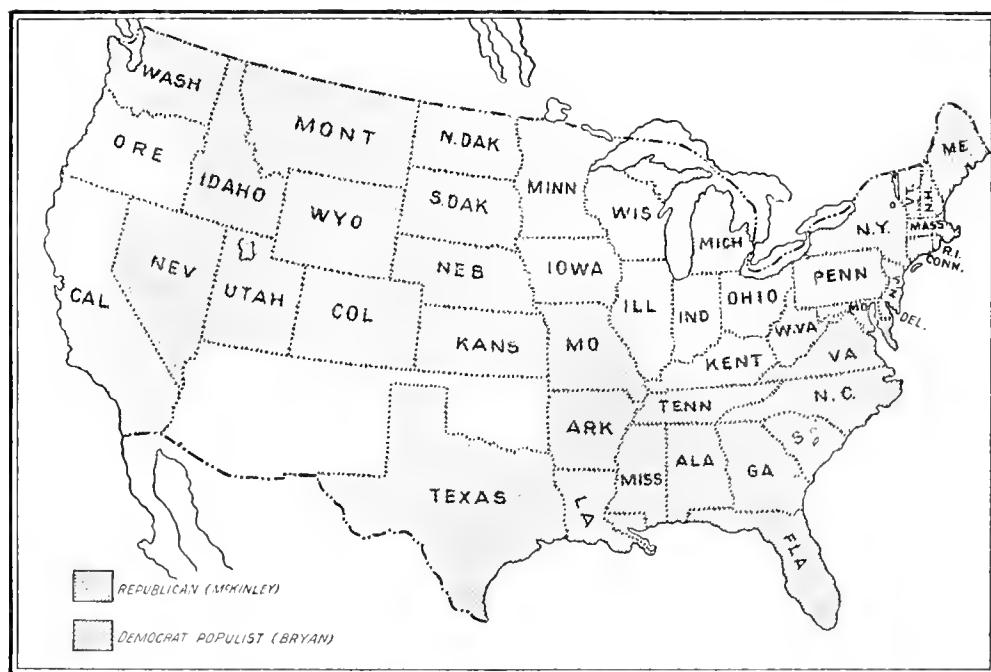
The eleventh national convention of the Republican party met at St. Louis, declared opposition to the "free coinage of silver except by international agreement," and adopted the gold standard platform with William McKinley, of Ohio, for president, and Garret A. Hobart, of New Jersey, vice-president. Delegates from six silver States — Colorado, Montana, Idaho, Utah, Nevada, and South Dakota — withdrew from the convention.

The seventeenth
convention of the
Democrats

The seventeenth national convention of the Democratic party met in Chicago, and, after a stormy session in which the party divided on the issues, a platform for a bimetallic currency was adopted with the "free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or con-

sent of any other nation." William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, was nominated for president, and Arthur Sewall, of Maine, vice-president.

The second national convention of the People's party met at St. Louis, pronounced for free silver, and indorsed Bryan for president, with Thomas E. Watson of Georgia, vice-president. The National Silver party met at St. Louis and indorsed Bryan and Sewall.



ELECTION OF 1896

The National Democrats, who had refused to adopt the silver plank in the platform of their party, met at Indianapolis, declared for gold monometallism and nominated John M. Palmer, of Illinois, president, and Simon B. Buckner, of Kentucky, vice-president. The Prohibitionists divided into two factions and put two candidates in nomination.

Then followed one of the greatest political campaigns in the history of our country, which resulted in the election of the Republican ticket. The campaign

CHAPTER LIII

WILLIAM MC KINLEY (TWENTY-FIFTH PRESIDENT,
1897—), REPUBLICAN

The president-elect

WILLIAM MC KINLEY, the president-elect, was another self-made statesman. For lack of means he was obliged to quit college, and taught school until the war began. Enlisting in an Ohio regiment at the age of eighteen, he served his country during four years of the Civil war, and was mustered out brevet major.

After distinguishing himself as a lawyer before the bar of Canton, Ohio, he was elected to Congress where he made his name famous, while chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, by introducing the Mc Kinley Tariff bill.¹ He was governor of Ohio for two terms, and then practiced law until he was named the standard bearer of the Republicans at the St. Louis convention.

At noon on the 4th of March, Garret A. Hobart, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, President Cleveland, President-elect Mc Kinley, and many other distinguished guests, was sworn into office by Adlai Stevenson, the retiring vice-president.

Vice-President Hobart then assumed his place as presiding officer of the Senate, after which the new senators were sworn into office. When Congress adjourned, it was to witness the remaining inaugural ceremonies.

On a platform in front of the capitol and in the pres-



WILLIAM MC KINLEY

1843—

1897

Garret A. Hobart
sworn into the office
of vice-president
(March 4)

¹ See page 339.

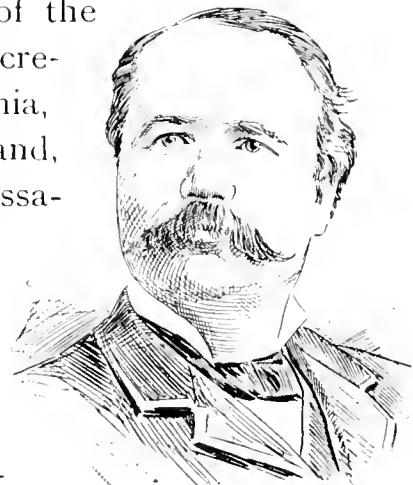
ence of a vast audience, Chief Justice Fuller administered to William Mc Kinley the oath of office as president of the United States. The executive cabinet was soon announced with John Sherman, of Ohio, secretary of state; Lyman J. Gage, of Illinois, secretary of the treasury; Russell A. Alger, of Michigan, secretary of war; Joseph McKenna, of California, attorney general; James A. Gary, of Maryland, postmaster general; John D. Long, of Massachusetts, secretary of the navy; Cornelius N. Bliss, of New York, secretary of the interior; and James Wilson, of Iowa, secretary of agriculture.

Forty-five States and three organized Territories, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Arizona, were represented in the legislative department. In the Senate at the opening of the first regular session of the Fifty-fifth Congress there were ninety members; but the seat of one member from Oregon was vacant. Of these, thirty-four were Democrats,¹ forty-seven Republicans,² and eight Independents.

In the House of Representatives were three hundred and fifty-seven members, elected from congressional districts, each district containing about 173,900 inhabitants.³ One hundred and thirty-one were Democrats,⁴ two hundred Republicans,⁵ with one vacancy, and twenty-six Independents.⁶ The Speaker, or presiding officer of this body, was Thomas B. Reed, of Maine, who was re-elected by a vote of the House.

The inauguration of
President Mc Kinley

The cabinet



GARRET A. HOBART

1844

The Senate

The House

Thomas B. Reed
re-elected Speaker

¹ Twenty-nine were Silver Democrats.

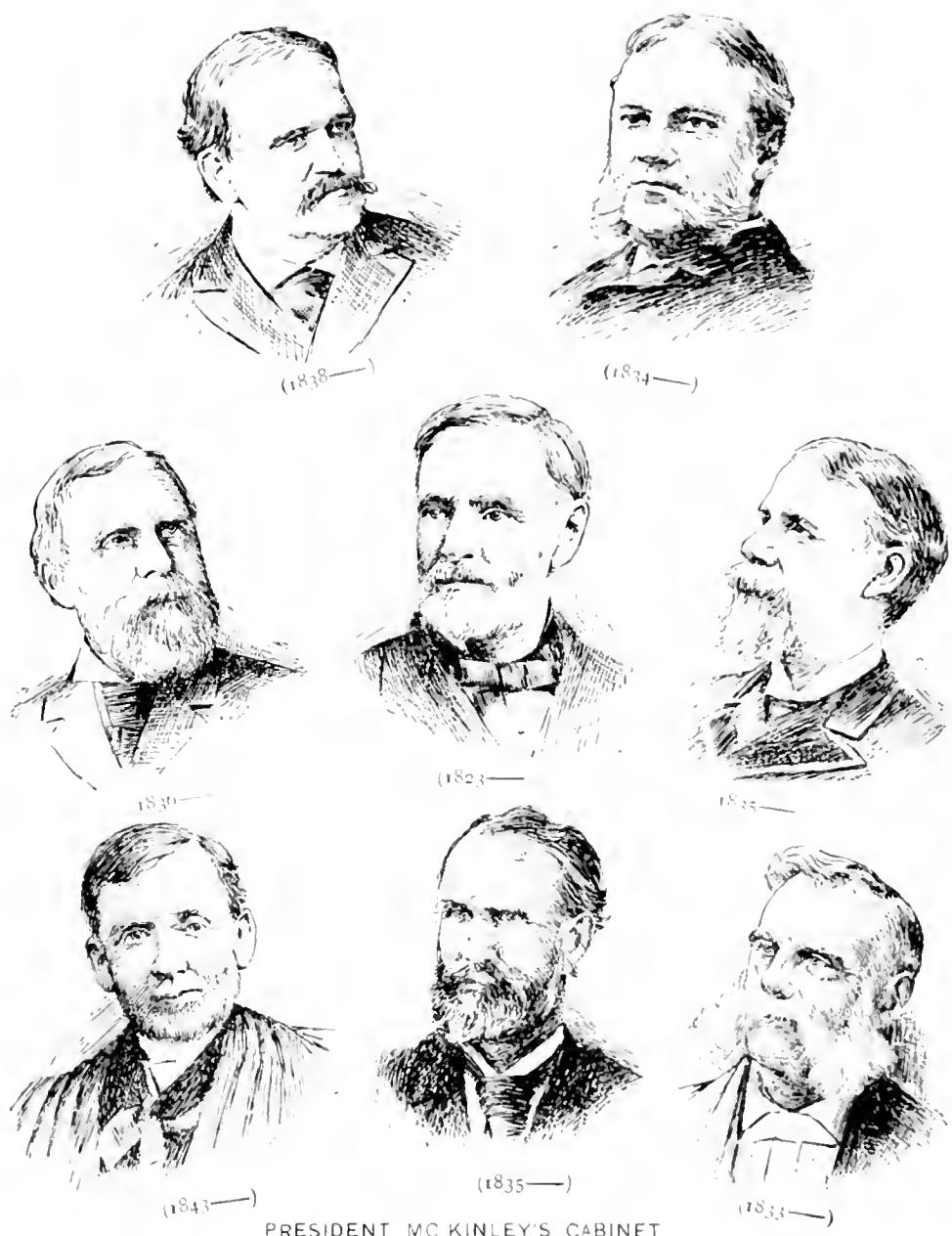
² Five Populists, two Silver Republicans, one Independent.

³ The ratio of representation at the first Congress, 1789, was one representative for 30,000 persons.

⁴ One hundred and twenty-nine were Silver Democrats.

⁵ Ten were Silver Republicans.

⁶ Fifteen Populists; eleven Democratic Populists.



PRESIDENT MC KINLEY'S CABINET

JOHN D. LONG,
of Massachusetts,
Navy.

LYMAN J. GAGE,
of Illinois,
Treasury.

JOSEPH MCKENNA,⁴
of California,
Attorney General.

JOHN SHERMAN,²
of Ohio,
State.

JAMES WILSON,
of Iowa,
Agriculture.

JAMES A. GARREY,⁵
of Maryland,
Postmaster General.

CORNELIUS N. BLISS,³
of New York,
Interior.

RUSSELL A. ALGER,³
of Michigan,
War.

¹ Succeeded by Ethan Allen Hitchcock, of Missouri.
² Succeeded by Judge William R. Day, of Ohio, who was succeeded by John Hay, of the District of Columbia.

³ Succeeded by Elihu Root, of New York.

⁴ Succeeded by John W. Griggs, of New Jersey.

⁵ Succeeded by Charles Emory Smith, of Pennsylvania.

The members of the Judiciary were Chief Justice ^{The Judiciary} Melville W. Fuller, of Illinois, and Associate Justices, Stephen J. Field,¹ of California; John M. Harlan, of Kentucky; Horace Gray, of Massachusetts; John J. Brewer, of Kansas; Henry B. Brown, of Michigan; George Shiras, Jr., of Pennsylvania; Edward D. White, of Louisiana; and Rufus W. Peckham, of New York.

Immediately after his inauguration, President Mc Kinley summoned a special session of the Fifty-fifth Congress to revise the Wilson Tariff law.

A new tariff bill, called the Dingley bill, because it was presented by Nelson Dingley, Jr., of Maine, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, was passed, which provided not only for revenue, but also for the protection of American industries. The Dingley bill increased the tariff on many imported articles, and put many on the dutiable list which were free in the Wilson bill.

Congress made an appropriation of \$50,000 for the relief of destitute citizens of the United States in warring Cuba.

Among the bills passed during the special session of the Congress was that authorizing foreign exhibitors at the Trans-Mississippi and International Exposition to bring to the United States foreign laborers for the purpose of preparing exhibits.²

The chief object of this Exposition, held at Omaha, Neb., was to show the resources of the States beyond the Mississippi. The display proved to be only second in importance to that of the Columbian Exposition at Chicago, the food products and electrical appliances surpassing those of all previous American Expositions.

<sup>The special session
of the Fifty-fifth
Congress
(March 15 to July 24)</sup>

<sup>The Dingley tariff
bill adopted
(July 24)</sup>

<sup>Congress appropri-
ates \$50,000 for
destitute Americans
in Cuba (May 24)</sup>

<sup>1898
The Omaha Trans-
Mississippi and
International
Exposition</sup>

¹ Justice Field retired December, 1897, and was succeeded by Joseph Mc Kenna, the attorney general.

² See, for law concerning foreign contract labor, page 338.

The president
appoints delegates
to an Anglo-
American joint high
commission
(July 16)

President Mc Kinley appointed commissioners to meet and treat with an equal number of Canadian commissioners concerning pelagic seal rights, American fisheries in Canadian waters, and other disputed questions between the United States and Canada, chief of which was the boundary line between Alaska and British America.¹ Great Britain claimed that Russia had misinterpreted the treaty of 1825; and that the dividing line between Russian Alaska and British America, with an extreme inland limit of thirty miles from the sea, should not have followed the coast indentations so closely. The Canadian commissioners made a demand for a seaport north of $54^{\circ} 40'$. The American commissioners were not willing to concede the claim of Great Britain to a part of the seacoast of Alaska, and the joint high commission, without arriving at a settlement of any of the vexed questions, adjourned to meet the following year.

1889

The kingdom of Samoa given independence under a joint protectorate
(June 14)

Meantime Samoa, the little kingdom in the South Pacific Ocean, midway between Hawaii and New Zealand, where the United States own a naval station, again demanded attention.² Representatives of Great Britain, Germany, and the United States had agreed upon the independence of Samoa under joint protection of the three powers.

1894

The death of the Samoan king causes international disputes
(August 22)

On the death of Malietoa, king of Samoa, two claimants appeared for the throne. Mataafa, whose pretension was supported by Germany, was elected by the islanders. Malietoa's direct heir, supported by Great Britain and the United States, contested the election, and the issue was decided in his favor by Chief Justice Chambers, an American. The followers of Mataafa

¹ See map of territorial growth.

² See page 340.

thereupon attacked some American and British sailors; Judge Chambers fled for protection to a British cruiser.

For a time war with Germany seemed imminent; but a commission appointed by the three powers to adjust the difficulties finally agreed to abolish the office of king, and establish a republic with a governor and a legislature elected by popular vote, while a council of three, one member from each of the three powers, should act as an advisory board for the governor.

The most important question before the Fifty-fifth Congress, at its first regular session, was that of Cuba. The Fifty-fourth Congress, as we have seen, recom-

The republic of Samoa proposed

The first regular session of Congress begins (December 6)



mended that our government actively use its influence to restore peace and give independence to the suffering island. The Republicans had declared in the party platform, upon which President Mc Kinley had been elected, that, since the Spanish crown seemed unable to protect the lives and property of American citizens in Cuba, our government should interfere to end the war.

Accordingly, President Mc Kinley protested against the policy of General Weyler, military commander of Cuba, who had issued an order concentrating the peasants of four provinces, Havana, Matanzas, Santa Clara, and Pinar del Rio, in the military towns, where they were starving at the rate of several thousand a day.



QUEEN MARIA CHRISTINA

Sagasta becomes
premier of Spain
October 2.

Spain promises
autonomy to Cuba
and Porto Rico
(November 27)

1898

The *Maine* arrives
at Havana
January 26



ALFONSO XIII

In April Maria Christina, the queen regent of Spain during the minority of Alfonso XIII, signed a decree granting reforms in Cuba. Soon after this concession, Canovas, the Conservative premier of Spain, was assassinated at Madrid, and Sagasta, the leader of the Liberals, became premier.

General Weyler was recalled and General Blanco became the military ruler of Cuba. Spain indicated that it would be agreeable if the charitable people of the United States would aid the starving peasants, who, although permitted by General Blanco to return to their homes, were without food and proper clothing. Many thousand dollars were immediately subscribed for a relief fund, and Clara Barton, the head of the Red Cross, volunteered to go to Cuba to direct the distribution of the supplies sent to Havana.

Autonomy, or self-government, was soon after officially promised to Cuba and Porto Rico, but the Cubans, having been so often deceived with vain promises, refused to lay down their arms. The proposed new government, as well as the generous aid from the United States, was opposed by many resident Spaniards, and when these gathered in mobs at Havana to threaten resident Americans, Consul General Fitzhugh Lee requested that a war ship be sent to protect them.

It was agreed with Spain that an exchange of friendly visits should be made between Cuba and the United States. Accordingly, the cruiser *Maine*, Captain Sigsbee, was sent to Havana, and the *Vizcaya* was ordered to New York.

About this time De Puy de Lome, the Spanish minister at Washington, wrote a letter to a friend in Havana, speaking in the most insulting

manner of President Mc Kinley. The letter came to the notice of the government, and its publication led to the resignation of Señor de Lome.

Señor de Lome's
letter published
February 8

On the night of February 15, a week after the appearance of the offensive letter, the *Maine*, at anchor in Havana harbor, was cut in two by a double explosion. Two officers and two hundred and sixty-four men were killed and sixty were wounded.

Destruction of the
Maine (February 15)

A board of inquiry, appointed by the naval department, declared that the ship was destroyed by the explosion of a submarine mine with no evidence fixing the responsibility for the destruction. Both nations anticipated war, and began to prepare for it.

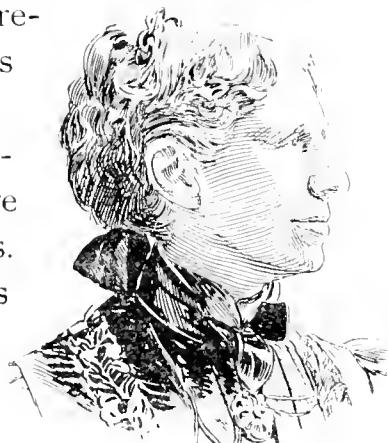
Congress votes
appropriations for
national defense
(March 7)

Congress voted \$50,000,000 for national defense; and two new regiments of artillery were authorized to be organized for the harbor forts.

Spain began to strengthen the fortified towns in the West Indies, and concentrate at Cape Verde Islands a squadron in command of Admiral Cervera.

Meantime Senators Proctor and Thurston and other distinguished statesmen visited Cuba to ascertain the truth of the reports concerning the suffering of the peasants. When they declared that nearly a half million Cubans had died of starvation, pestilence, and war since the beginning of their struggle for independence, and that a quarter of a million more were dying, President Mc Kinley sent a message to Congress asking authorization to take measures to terminate hostilities between the government of Spain and the people of Cuba.

CLARA BARTON
1830—



The president asks
Congress to take
measures to termin-
ate hostilities
between Spain
and Cuba
(April 11)

The grounds of
intervention

"The grounds of intervention," said the president, "may be briefly summarized as follows:—

"First, In the cause of humanity, and to put an end

The cause of humanity

to the barbarities, bloodshed, starvation, and horrible miseries now existing there, and which the parties to the conflict are either unable or unwilling to stop or mitigate. It is no answer to say this is all in another country, belonging to another nation, and is, therefore, none of our business. It is especially our duty, for it is right at our door.

Protection of American citizens resident in Cuba

"Second, We owe it to our citizens in Cuba to afford them that protection and indemnity for life and property which no government there can or will afford, and to that end to terminate the conditions that deprive them of legal protection.

Protection to American commerce

"Third, The right to intervene may be justified by the very serious injury to the commerce, trade, and business of our people, and by the wanton destruction of property and devastation of the island.

A semi-war footing with a war nation with which we are at peace

"Fourth, and which is of the utmost importance, The present condition of affairs in Cuba is a constant menace to our peace, and entails upon this government an enormous expense. With such a conflict waged for years in an island so near us, and with which our people have such trade and business relations; where the lives and liberty of our citizens are in constant danger and their property destroyed and themselves ruined; where our trading vessels are liable to seizure, and are seized at our very door by war ships of a foreign nation, the expeditions of filibustering that we are powerless altogether to prevent, and the irritating questions and entanglements thus arising,—all these and others that I need not mention, with the resulting strained relations, are a constant menace to our peace, and compel us to keep on a semi-war footing with a war nation with which we are at peace."

On April 19 the following joint resolutions were passed by Congress: —

"Whereas, the abhorrent conditions which have prevailed more than three years in the island of Cuba, so near our own borders, have shocked the moral sense of the people of the United States, have been a disgrace to Christian civilization, culminating, as they have, in the destruction of a United States battle ship, with two hundred and sixty of its officers and crew, while on a friendly visit to the harbor of Havana, and can not longer be endured, as has been set forth by the president of the United States in his message to Congress of April 11, 1898, upon which the action of Congress was invited; therefore, be it resolved,—

"First, That the people of the island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent.

"Second, That it is the duty of the United States to demand, and the government of the United States does hereby demand, that the government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba, and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters.

"Third, That the president of the United States be, and he hereby is, directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States, and to call into the actual service of the United States the militia of the several States to such an extent as may be necessary to carry these resolutions into effect.

"Fourth, That the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island, except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination when that is accomplished to leave the government and control of the island to its people."

Immediately upon hearing that President Mc Kinley had signed this resolution, the Spanish minister at Wash-

The joint resolutions
of Congress for the
recognition of Cuban
independence
(April 19)

The president em-
powered to use the
army and navy to
secure the freedom
of the Cubans

The United States
disclaims any in-
tention to exercise
sovereignty over
the islands

The president signs
the joint resolutions
of Congress
(April 20)

Minister Woodford
is given his passports
(April 21)

President Mc Kinley
issues a call for
volunteers
(April 23)



NELSON A. MILES
1839—

A blockade of Cuban
ports proclaimed
(April 22)

Acting Rear-
Admiral Sampson,
of the North Atlantic
Squadron; Commodore Schley, of the
Flying Squadron;
Commodore Dewey,
of the Asiatic
Squadron

Spain formally
declares war
(April 23)

Congress resolves
that a state of war
has existed since
April 21

(April 25)

ington demanded his passports. Minister Woodford, at Madrid, received notice that diplomatic relations between Spain and the United States must cease.

President Mc Kinley, considering the dismissal of the American minister equivalent to a declaration of war, issued a call for 125,000 volunteers from the States and Territories, to be apportioned according to their population.

The response was enthusiastic; many thousand more than were asked volunteered. Theodore Roosevelt, of New York, resigned his position as assistant secretary of the navy to organize a cavalry regiment which was placed under command of Colonel Leonard Wood, and became known as Roosevelt's Rough Riders, because many "cowboys" from the Western cattle ranches joined its ranks. Colonel Terry, of Arizona, rallied another regiment of Rough Riders; many wealthy citizens contributed yachts, fitted out companies, or supplied hospitals with comforts.

The regular army of about 25,000, in command of Major-General Nelson A. Miles, was increased to 62,000 men, and ordered to assemble in camps for drill; a blockade of the north coast of Cuba, and Cienfuegas on the south coast was proclaimed; Captain Sampson, of the squadron at Key West, was made acting rear-admiral in command of the North Atlantic Squadron; Commodore Schley was in command of the Flying Squadron, and Commodore Dewey of the Asiatic Squadron.

On April 24, Spain formally declared war. The following day Congress resolved that a state of war had existed since April 21, the day Minister Woodford received his passports from the premier of Spain.

Congress authorized the issue of \$400,000,000 in bonds

to help pay the cost of the war,¹ and passed a revenue bill placing a tax upon various articles and imposing a stamp tax on express receipts, bank checks, telegrams, etc.

All things were made ready as swiftly as possible to prosecute the war with Spain by land and by sea.

CHAPTER LIV

WILLIAM MC KINLEY (1897—) (CONTINUED)
REPUBLICAN.

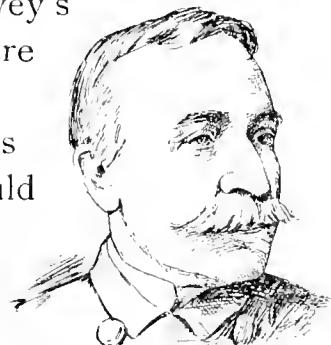
AFTER the declaration of war between Spain and the United States, several of the foreign powers proclaimed neutrality. England, being one of the neutrals, notified her consul at Hong-Kong that Comodore Dewey's Asiatic fleet must not remain at Hong-Kong, where she held a lease.

On arriving at Mirs Bay, the commodore was informed that China was also a neutral, and would not allow his fleet to linger within her waters.

Now it was known that a formidable Spanish fleet was off the Philippine Islands, which would destroy American merchantmen; and just about the time that Comodore Dewey was invited out of Mirs Bay, he received orders to find the Spanish fleet and capture or destroy it.

Accordingly he hastened to Manila, the capital city of the Philippines, near which he had reason to believe the Spanish ships were anchored.

On the night of April 31 his fleet lay outside Manila Bay.² It included the *Olympia*, the flagship, Captain



GEORGE DEWEY
1837—

1898

Commodore Dewey
is ordered away
from the ports
of neutrals

¹ Only half the amount was actually issued. ² For map of the bay see p. 381.

Dewey reaches
Manila Bay
(April 31)

Gridley; *Boston*, Captain Wildes; *Concord*, Commander Walker; *Petrel*, Commander Wood; *Raleigh*, Captain Coghlan; *Baltimore*, Captain Dyer, a revenue cutter, and two supply vessels. All the ships were unarmored except the *Olympia*, which was protected around the turret guns.

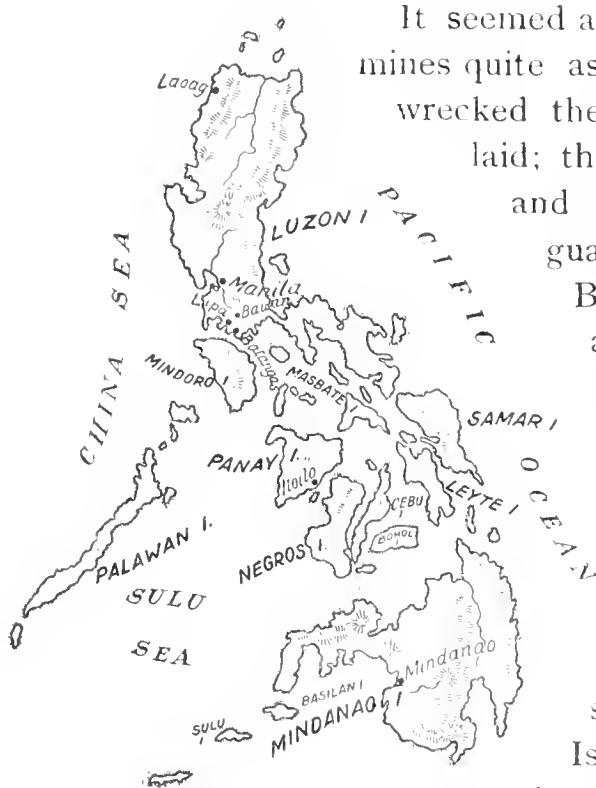
It seemed a hazardous undertaking to enter; mines quite as destructive as those which had wrecked the *Maine* were known to have been laid; the water was shallow in many places, and the entrance was supposed to be guarded by Krupp guns.

But the commander was fearless, and his men were willing to follow him into the death trap. The night was cloudy. All lights were put out except one small lamp at the stern of each ship to warn those behind from coming too near.

With the *Olympia* in the lead, the ships glided silently past Corregidor Island and entered the bay. To the southwest of Manila, whose early

morning lights were beginning to glimmer through the gray dawn, lay the Spanish squadron. As the sun rose, the batteries of Manila and Cavite opened fire. The *Olympia* sailed steadily on, though mines were exploded around her. When the six principal ships were within effective range, they ran, one behind the other and parallel with the enemy's line, pouring broadsides upon their decks.

Five times, in single file, they passed, always drawing nearer; and so swift was the maneuvering and so deadly



The battle of
Manila Bay
(May 1)

the aim of the port guns that, about noon, Admiral Montojo signaled his captains to scuttle and abandon their vessels.

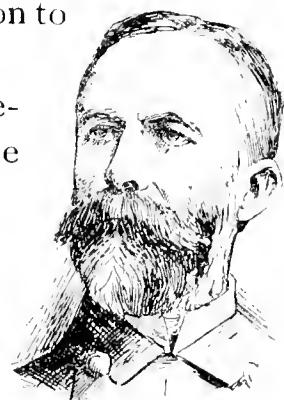
When the smoke of battle cleared away, it was found that the entire Spanish fleet of ten ships and several small craft was lost, with over six hundred men killed. On the American side not one ship was disabled nor one man killed. The engagement was conceded by European nations to be one of the most remarkable in naval annals. The following day the forts of Cavite and Corregidor Island surrendered.

Cavite and
Corregidor Island
surrender (May 2)

A few weeks later, Captain Glass, on the *Charleston*, took possession of Guam, the largest of the Ladrones, a group of Spanish islands situated about a thousand miles east of the Philippines. After placing an American in command, Captain Glass carried the Spanish garrison to the Philippines as prisoners of war.

Guam captured by
Captain Glass
(June 21)

Meanwhile Admiral Cervera had sailed mysteriously from Cadiz. When it was learned that he had left the Cape Verde Islands, American cruisers scoured the sea in search of his fleet. The ships were finally sighted off Venezuela, then lost again. It was feared they might be among the Windward Islands lying in wait for the battle ship *Oregon*, Captain Clark, which was on her way from California to Florida.



W. T. SAMPSON
1840—

Admiral Sampson
bombs San Juan
May 12)

Finally it was reported that Cervera's fleet was heading for Porto Rico. Admiral Sampson sailed to San Juan, and bombarded the forts in the harbor, but the Spanish admiral was not there.

When a rumor that Cervera's fleet was coaling in the harbor of Santiago de Cuba seemed to be confirmed by official reports, the squadrons of Schley and Sampson were united to keep it there. The guns of Morro Castle

Cervera's fleet
reported to be at
Santiago



RICHMOND P. HOBSON
1870—

Guantanamo Bay
seized (June 10)

prevented near approach to the shore, and fearing that Cervera might escape in the night, Admiral Sampson decided to attempt to block up the narrow neck of the harbor.

Accordingly, Assistant Naval Constructor Richmond P. Hobson and seven picked men volunteered to sink the collier *Merrimac* across the opening. Setting out before dawn, the sailors reached the allotted position, but a cannon shot carried away the rudder of the collier so that she could not be swung sufficiently into place to bar the entrance. The dauntless crew escaped from the sinking *Merrimac* only to be taken prisoners by the Spaniards.

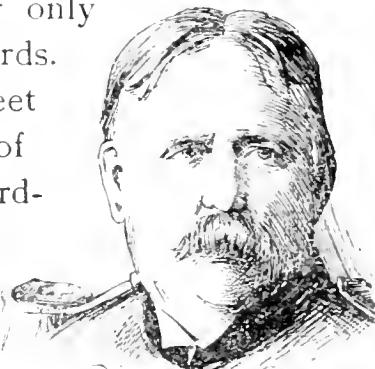
Days passed. The American fleet lay on guard beneath the Morro of Santiago, with an occasional bombardment along the coast. Guantanamo Bay was seized for a naval station; cables connecting Santiago with Mole St. Nicholas were grappled and cut, and then those between Santiago and Havana, and Havana and Eu-

rope, so that what with the loss of these modern means of communication and the blockade, which prevented ships from entering her harbors, Cuba seemed as far away from Spain as when Columbus first entered her harbors.

Meantime General Maximo Gomez, commander in chief of the insurgent Cubans, with headquarters at Santa Clara, was carrying on a ceaseless guerrilla war with the Spanish troops. Gomez urged co-operation between the American and Cuban land



MAXIMO GOMEZ



WM. R. SHAFTER
1835—

forces. Accordingly, Major-General Shafter, with an army organized at Tampa, sailed for Santiago.

At a conference between Admiral Sampson, General Shafter, and the Cuban general, Calixto Garcia, a united land and naval attack upon Santiago was planned. The American troops were debarked from transports at Baiquiri and adjacent landings.

Siboney was occupied by a detachment of troops under General Joseph Wheeler, second in command. The hill of La Guasima, near Sevilla, was taken; the blockhouse of El Caney was captured, and San Juan was stormed successfully. The hills along San Juan River, a mile and a half from Santiago, were soon occupied by the Americans, while the Cubans were guarding the approaches to the northwest of them.

Meantime, it had been thought best to secure the Philippine Islands, and hold them for a possible war indemnity. Admiral

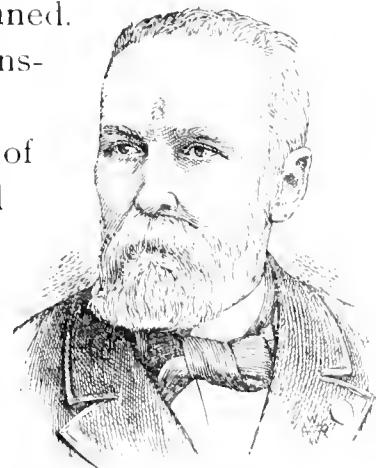
Dewey permitted Aguinaldo, a banished Filipino insurgent, to land at Cavite, and assemble an army to assist in capturing Manila, the capital.

Aguinaldo, after winning several victories over the Spanish troops in the province of Cavite, proclaimed the independence of the Philippines under the protection of the United States.

Meantime President Mc Kinley issued a call for 75,000 additional volunteers, and appointed General Wesley Merritt military governor of the islands with an army of 15,000.

General Shafter
sails for Santiago
(June 14)

The debarkation at
Baiquiri (June 22)



CALIXTO GARCIA

Aguinaldo at Cavite



WESLEY MERRITT

1836—

Aguinaldo proclaims
a republic under the
protection of the
United States
(June 7)

General Merritt
appointed military
governor of the
Philippine Islands
May 11

Admiral Camara's fleet sails for the Philippines, but returns to Cadiz

While General Merritt was hastening westward with re-enforcements, Admiral Camara was sailing eastward from Cadiz. When our government ascertained that the Spanish fleet was bound for the Philippines, orders were issued from Washington for Commodore Watson to proceed to Spain with a division of the North Atlantic fleet. The fear of Watson's attack upon the coast cities, together with England's refusal to allow coaling at Port Said, at the entrance of Suez Canal, caused Admiral Camara to return to Cadiz. The Spanish army in the Philippine Islands was thus left without aid, and Manila was soon surrounded by Admiral Dewey's ships and the troops of General Merritt and Aguinaldo.



JOSEPH WHEELER
1836—

Meantime the investment of Santiago continued. A report that General Pando was sending re-enforcements from Havana to General Toral caused the utmost haste to occupy the city. The line of siege was drawn closer; the battle ships ventured nearer and nearer until within two miles from the harbor's mouth lay the armored cruisers *New York*, Captain Chadwick, and *Brooklyn*, Captain Cook; the first-class battle ships *Iowa*, Captain Evans; *Oregon*, Captain Clark; and *Indiana*, Captain Taylor; and the second-class battle ship *Texas*, Captain Philip; while lighter craft were watching still nearer shore for the least movement of the enemy. At night, one battle ship, supported by a comrade with broadside turned and guns pointed, swung a search light which illuminated the mouth of the harbor and the steep gray walls of the Morro.

Early in the morning of July 3 news came to the ships of heavy losses among the fighting land forces. Admi-

The vigil before the
harbor of Santiago

ral Sampson had started on the flagship *New York* for a conference with General Shafter at Siboney, when light puffs of smoke betrayed the advance of the enemy. Almost immediately after, the long black nose of the Spanish flagship *Maria Teresa* came to view. Admiral

The naval battle of
Santiago (July 3)

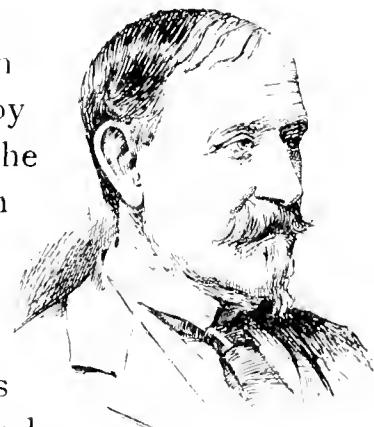


Schley, in command of the flagship *Brooklyn*, ordered the American ships to clear for action. When the *Teresa* turned swiftly westward, followed by the *Vizcaya*, *Colon*, *Oquendo*, and the destroyers *Furor* and *Pluton*,—all flying the red and yellow ensigns of war,—the *Brooklyn* and the *Iowa* dashed forward in a chase; the *Oregon*, the *Indiana*, and the *Gloucester*, Captain Wainwright, turned, pouring shot and shell as they ran.

The *Teresa*, *Oquendo*, and *Vizcaya* were soon beached. The *Furor* and *Pluton* were sunk by the *Gloucester*. The *Colon*, pursued by the *Brooklyn*, *Oregon*, and *Texas*, ran to the beach of Acerraderos, about fifty miles from Santiago, and hauled down her colors. Only one American was killed, and none of the ships disabled when the signal, "The enemy has surrendered," fluttered from Acting Admiral Schley's flagship.

Admiral Sampson arrived in time to receive the sword of Admiral Cervera; and Spain's naval power in the Western Hemisphere was ended.

Lieutenant Hobson and his associates were soon after exchanged for Spanish prisoners.



WINFIELD S. SCHLEY
1839—

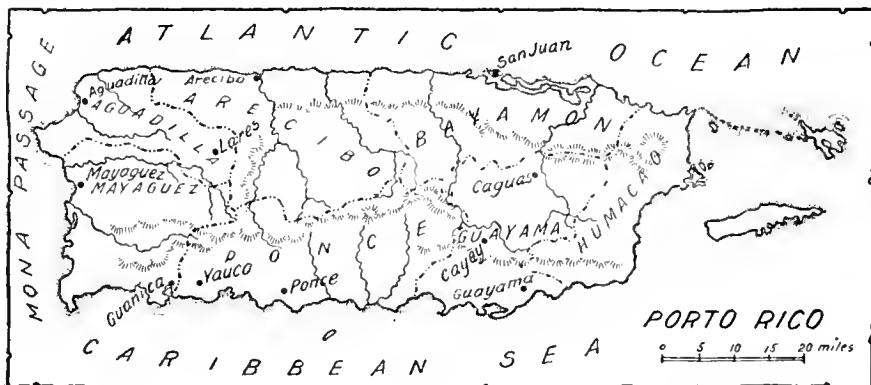
Admiral Cervera
surrenders his
sword

Lieutenant Hobson
and his associates
liberated
(July 4)

General Shafter demanded the surrender of Santiago. General Toral refused to agree to the proposed terms. The firing from the trenches surrounding the city continued until July 11, when a flag of truce was raised.

General Toral surrendered Santiago and its entire

Santiago occupied
(July 17)



military district, with about 25,000 Spanish soldiers. On July 17, the city was occupied by the Americans.

A few days later General Miles, commanding general of the army of the United States, left Guantanamo Bay for Porto Rico. Guanica and Yauco were entered without resistance from the inhabitants, who appeared eager to throw off the Spanish rule. Port Ponce was occupied by the ships, and the city near its shore welcomed the army with bands of music. From Ponce the main line of the army proceeded along the great military road to San Juan, the capital.

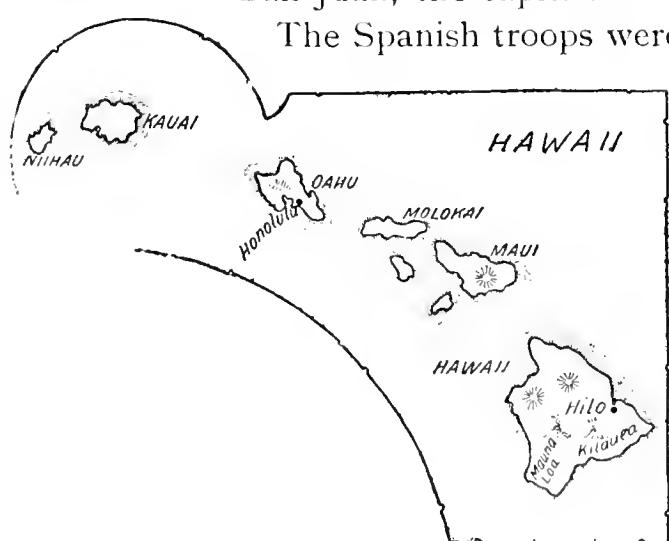
General Miles sails
for Porto Rico
(July 21)

Guanica, Yauco, and
Ponce occupied

A peace protocol
signed at
Washington
(August 12)

The Spanish troops were retreating from city to city, when hostilities ceased with the announcement of a peace protocol signed at Washington by the representatives of Spain and the United States.

By the terms of the protocol Porto Rico, the "Gate of the Antilles," was surren-

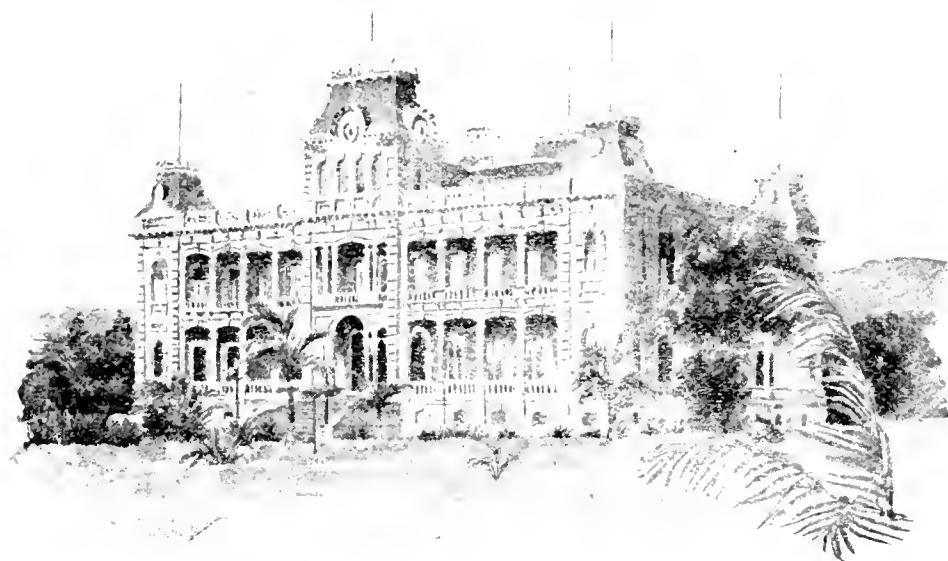


dered to the United States, and, on August 17, the stars and stripes were officially raised over the government buildings at San Juan.

Now, at the beginning of hostilities, the government of Hawaii had been warned by Spain to publish a declaration of neutrality. This the little republic refused to do, not only upholding the policy of the United States, but permitting their war ships to coal at Honolulu. Such

Porto Rico
formally surrendered
to the United States
(August 17)

The republic of
Hawaii declares
alliance with the
United States



GOVERNMENT BUILDING, HONOLULU

a course of action exposed the islands to an attack from Spain; and when the Hawaiian legislature asked the United States to annex the islands to their territory, Congress passed a joint resolution approving the request. The transfer of sovereignty was accordingly made, the Hawaiian government, as organized, continuing until Congress might frame another government more in harmony with our Constitution.

Now when the peace protocol with Spain was signed on August 12, at four o'clock P. M. in Washington, it was August 13, about five o'clock A. M. in Manila. On that

Hawaii annexed to
the territory of the
United States
(August 12)

Manila bombarded
August 13

morning Admiral Dewey and General Merritt, knowing nothing about the armistice, were making preparations for a united attack upon Manila. The squadron moved up from Cavite and fired the first shot at the fortifications. The army captured Malate, and occupied the ramparts of the city. The Spanish governor general surrendered unconditionally to General Merritt, who immediately issued a proclamation declaring that he

had come not as a conqueror, but a protector.

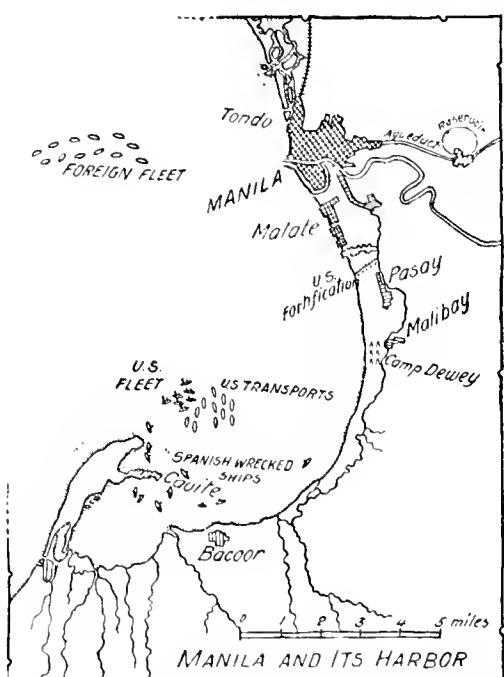
General Elwell S. Otis succeeded General Merritt in the military command of the Philippines. General MacArthur was appointed commandant of Manila and General Anderson of Cavite. Aguinaldo, however, with headquarters at Bacoor, issued proclamations calling himself president of the republic of the Philippines, and the residents of Manila were in constant dread of plundering insurgents.

On December 10, the final treaty of peace between Spain and the United

States was signed by their representatives at Paris. Spain (1) relinquished all claim to Cuba; (2) ceded to the United States Porto Rico and the other Spanish islands in the West Indies, and the island of Guam, in the Ladrones; (3) ceded to the United States the Philippine Islands, and surrendered all claims against that archipelago for the sum of \$20,000,000.

Congress met in regular session on December 6. When the provisions of the treaty were made known, opinion was so divided concerning the acquisition of the Philippines that weeks passed before the treaty was ratified.

Manila formally surrenders
(August 15)



The final treaty of
peace between
Spain and the
United States
signed at Paris
December 10

The second regular
session of the
Fifty-fifth Congress
begins (December 6)

Meantime the Filipinos had become distrustful of the military occupation of the United States. Aguinaldo, who still proclaimed himself president of the Philippine republic, sent Agoncillo to Washington as his representative.

President Mc Kinley appointed a commission to examine into the pretensions of Aguinaldo, and, pending their report, withheld official recognition of his envoy. Agoncillo thereupon began to foment the irritation of his countrymen by reporting the bitter debates in Congress, and, it is said, advised an attack upon the army for the purpose of influencing Congress to refuse a ratification of the treaty.

General Otis, anticipating an outbreak, appointed three commissioners to confer with a similar number of Filipinos named by Aguinaldo, for the purpose of coming to some agreement which would permit the organization of a stable government.

The three Filipinos would listen to nothing but the recognition of absolute independence. They demanded that the army be withdrawn immediately, but the navy was to remain to protect them from foreigners.

The American commissioners explained that, by the treaty at Paris, Spain, who had been responsible to the other powers for the protection of the life and property of their resident citizens, was no longer held responsible; that the transfer of the islands to the United States was also a transfer of responsibilities of government. If the army and navy were both withdrawn, foreign powers would consider the United States as acting in bad faith. If the army were withdrawn, and our navy alone remained, the United States, in thus assuming a responsibility for a government without having a voice in its laws, might become involved in wars with other nations.

Aguinaldo, as president of a Philippine republic, sends an envoy to Washington

Agoncillo at Washington

General Otis appoints a commission to confer with the representatives of Aguinaldo

The joint commission fails to agree to terms proposed

All the autonomy the Filipinos might prove themselves capable of maintaining was promised; but their commissioners would listen to no compromises.

The beginning of hostilities between Aguinaldo's forces and the Americans
(February 4)

Caloocan occupied
(February 10)



EMILIO AGUINALDO

Congress ratifies the treaty with Spain (February 6)

Malolos occupied
(March 31)

San Fernando
(May 5)
Angeles (August 10)

On February 4, a skirmish began between the Filipinos east of Manila and the American guards which soon extended along the entire line of occupation from Tondo to Malate. The Filipinos retreated from their trenches, leaving the suburbs of Manila and the waterworks at Santolan in possession of the Americans.

A few days later, after a severe engagement in which the naval and land forces were engaged, Caloocan was occupied. General Mac Arthur then advanced toward Malolos, where Aguinaldo had established his headquarters.

Meantime an order had been issued from Malolos that all foreigners in Manila should be assassinated. An attempt to burn Manila caused General Otis to place the city under martial law, so that no one might be allowed on the streets after sunset without a pass.

The legal term of the Fifty-fifth Congress closed on March 4. The treaty with Spain, ceding Porto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines, was ratified before adjournment; but the disposition of the new territory was left to the Fifty-sixth Congress, to meet in December.

President McKinley resolved, meantime, to prosecute vigorously the war with the Filipinos. Malolos, after severe fighting, was occupied by General Mac Arthur, and Aguinaldo established his headquarters at San Fernando. Mac Arthur advanced upon San Fernando and Angeles, and captured both towns. Aguinaldo retired to San Isidro.

General Lawton, who had seized Santa Cruz, about

fifty miles southeast of Manila, and many smaller towns, marched against San Isidro. Aguinaldo retreated to Tarlac.

General Lawton then proceeded to Malolos, having marched one hundred and twenty miles in twenty days, fought twenty-two battles, and captured twenty-eight towns.

Meantime the Filipinos had been strengthening themselves at Paranaque, Zapota, Bacoor, and Imus, the capital of Cavite Province. Generals Lawton and Wheaton began a campaign against these places, and captured them all, driving the insurgents to the hills beyond.

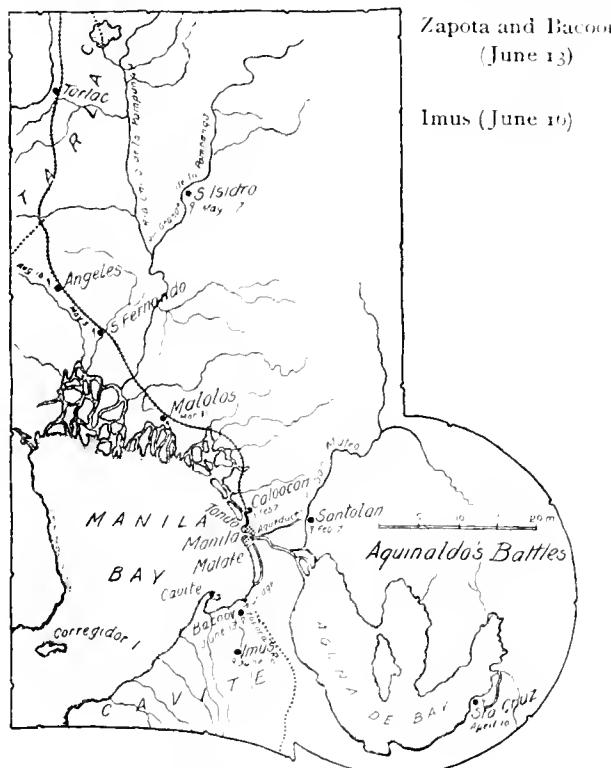
At the beginning of September Aguinaldo occupied Tarlac as his capital. The army of 40,000 which he had collected on the island of Luzon was reduced, by losses in war or desertion, to about 10,000. The Americans were in possession of Manila and the surrounding country as far north as San Isidro and Angeles, east, Santa Cruz, and south, Imus.

Some of the islands south of Luzon, where Aguinaldo had little influence, had accepted an American protectorate. Garrisons occupied Iloilo in Panay, the port next in importance after Manila; and the chief towns of Cebu, Negros, Mindanao, and the Sulus.

It was thought that Samar, Leyte, Masbate, and Bohol, all rich and prosperous islands, would accept an

Santa Cruz
(April 10)
San Isidro
(May 17)

Paranaque
(June 10)
Zapota and Bacoor
(June 13)
Imus (June 19)



Panay, Cebu,
Negros, Mindanao,
and the Sulus
garrisoned with
American troops

American protectorate when Aguinaldo was conquered. What should be done with the Philippine Islands, which the government had acquired so unexpectedly?

Opposition to the
acquisition of the
Philippines

1803
The purchase of
Louisiana for
\$15,000,000

1819
Florida, \$5,000,000

1845
Annexation of Texas

1848
The purchase of
Mexican lands for
\$15,000,000 and
\$3,500,000 indem-
nities

1853
The Gadsden
purchase,
\$10,000,000

Not a few members of the Fifty-fifth Congress opposed annexing the Philippines to the United States. There has always been a conservative element in our government which objects to enlarging its boundaries.

In 1803, during the Congressional debate over the treaty with France for the purchase of Louisiana,¹ Representative Griswold, of Connecticut, said: "It is not consistent with a republican government that its territory should be exceedingly large; for, as you extend your limits, you increase the difficulties arising from a want of that similarity of customs, habits, and manners so essential for its support. . . . The vast and unmanageable extent which the accession of Louisiana will give the United States threatens, at no distant day, the subversion of our Union." Senator White, of Delaware, said: "Fifteen million dollars is a most enormous sum to give for Louisiana!"

The acquisition of Florida¹ was opposed for much the same reasons as that of Louisiana.

The annexation of Texas¹ aroused controversy, not only by reason of its adding slave territory, but its lawless foreign population.

The Mexican lands,¹ including the present California, New Mexico, Nevada, Arizona, Utah, and parts of Colorado and Wyoming, seemed so distant and undesirable that the price paid was called a criminal waste of public money.

The Gadsden purchase¹ was thought too expensive.

The purchase of Alaska¹ was a bone of contention

¹ See map of territorial growth.

1867

at the time of its ratification. General B. F. Butler said: "If we are to pay for her (Russia's) friendship this amount, I desire to give her \$7,200,000, and let her keep Alaska."

Alaska, \$7,200,000

Representative Williams, of Pennsylvania, said: "The whole country exclaimed at once, when it was made known, against the ineffable folly, if not the wanton profligacy, of the whole transaction. I doubt whether there are twenty in the House who would be willing to vote for it now, but for the single reason that the contract has been made." Representative Ferris, of New York, moved to insert the following clause in the bill: "That the president be authorized to bind the United States by treaty to pay the sum of \$7,200,000 to any respectable European, Asiatic, or African power which will accept a cession of the Territory of Alaska."

This made strange reading at a time when the joint high commission, appointed by Great Britain and the United States, were wrangling about a narrow strip along the sea coast of Alaska. Indeed, the years had so established the inestimable value of each former accession of territory that many legislators were ready to annex the Philippines without delay; others, who opposed bitterly the proposed annexation, argued that the islands, being in Asiatic waters, would bring entanglements with the powers of Europe, and thus negative the operations of the Monroe doctrine.¹

Opposition to the
annexation of the
Philippines

Near the close of the year 1899, the situation was as follows: Of the new territory, under the military occupation of the United States,—Cuba, the Philippine Archipelago, Guam, Porto Rico, and Hawaii,—Porto Rico and Hawaii had accepted the sovereignty of the

1899

Status of the
Spanish cessions

¹ See page 216.

United States, and awaited the assembling of the Fifty-sixth Congress for the establishment of territorial governments; Cuba expected the United States to withdraw their protectorate when peace and order should have been established within her borders; the Philippine Islands, still rebellious, were a doubtful factor in the territorial readjustment.

The Philippine Archipelago

The Philippine Archipelago, comprising about 1,400 islands, has a population of nearly 8,000,000. The Malay-Polynesians, the predominant race, are divided into two branches: the Tagals of central and northern Luzon, and the Viscayans of Cebu, Behol, North Mindanao, and other islands. The Mestizos, of mixed Spanish, or Chinese and Filipino, origin, are scattered throughout the archipelago.

Hawaii

The people of Hawaii are also chiefly Malays.¹

Porto Rico

Those of Porto Rico, numbering about 800,000, are largely a mixture of Spanish, Indian, and Negro races; more than half of the population are considered white.

1510

San Juan founded
by Ponce de Leon

The principal towns of Porto Rico are San Juan, the capital — founded by Juan Ponce de Leon two years before he discovered Florida, while searching for the fabled Fountain of Youth; Ponce, which has a fine harbor; and Mayaguez, the only town on the island boasting a street railway. In the central plaza of Mayaguez is a handsome monument in memory of Columbus, who landed near its site.

Ponce

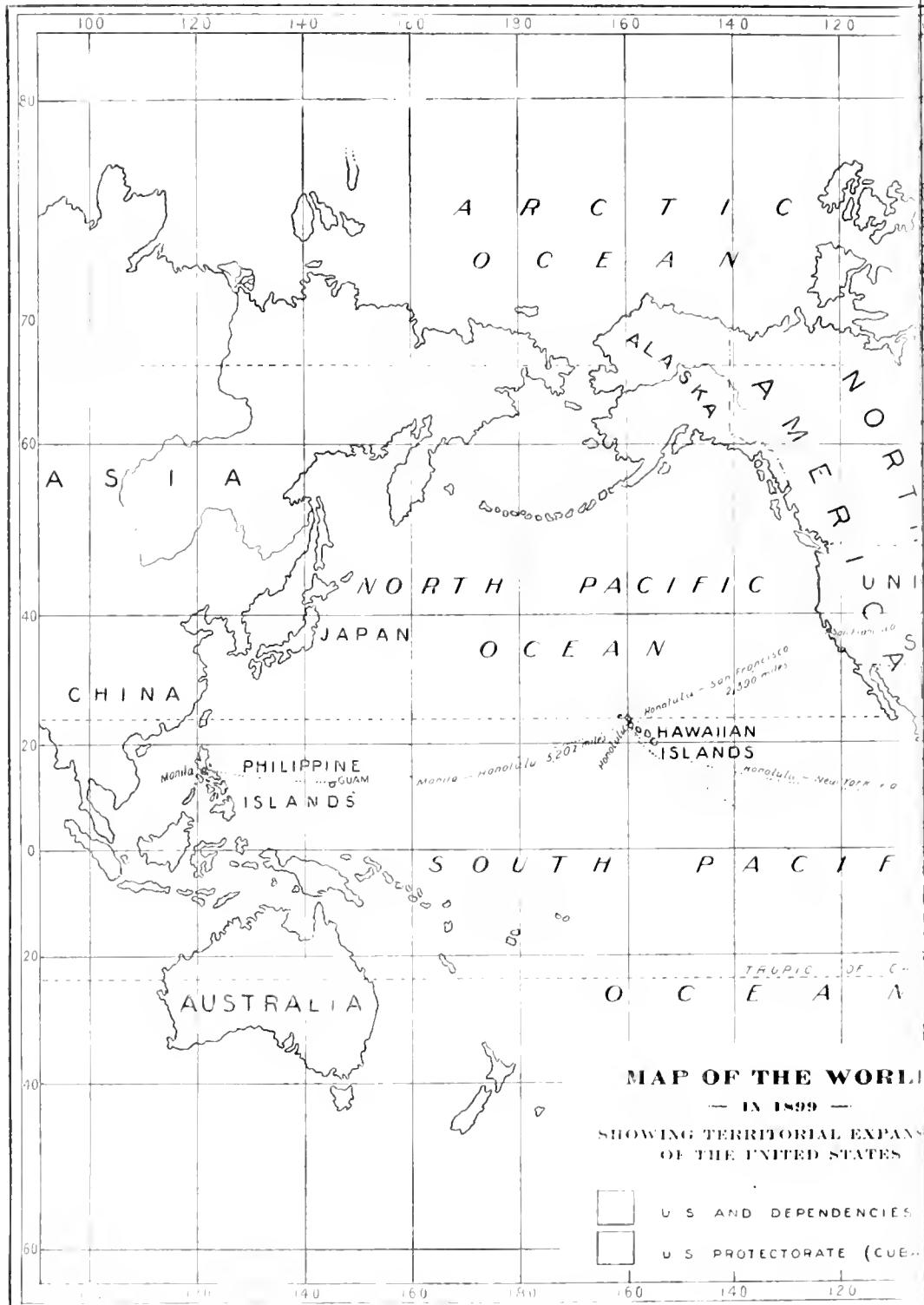
Mayaguez

The supposed
remains of
Christopher
Columbus removed
from Havana to
Spain
(September 27)

With the removal of the supposed remains of Christopher Columbus from their resting place in Havana closed the Spanish-American drama, which, begun so gloriously in the morning of discovery, has been enacted in shame and humiliation before the eyes of the whole world.

¹ See page 340.









The United States, rebellious under abuses and usurpations, established, through difficulties and hardships, a government whose cornerstone was personal liberty and equality before the law. They were thus able, without fear of reproach, to stretch out a helping hand to those in oppression. Whether the new territory, acquired by the fortunes of a war waged in the name of humanity, becomes a part of the United States, or is independent of them, it accords with our past history to welcome, when practicable, a government as free and progressive as our own for each and every island.

At the very time that commissioners were negotiating a treaty with Spain for the liberation of the Cubans, the school children of our nation were contributing funds to erect at Paris a magnificent statue to the memory of the Marquis de Lafayette, who offered his life and fortune for the liberation of our ancestors.

As for our soldiers who fell on foreign soil during the late war, let us, in the words of Abraham Lincoln, "take from these honored dead increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; let us highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain;" that these nations of strange tongues, "under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

1898

Contributions for a
monument to the
Marquis de
Lafayette
(October 19)



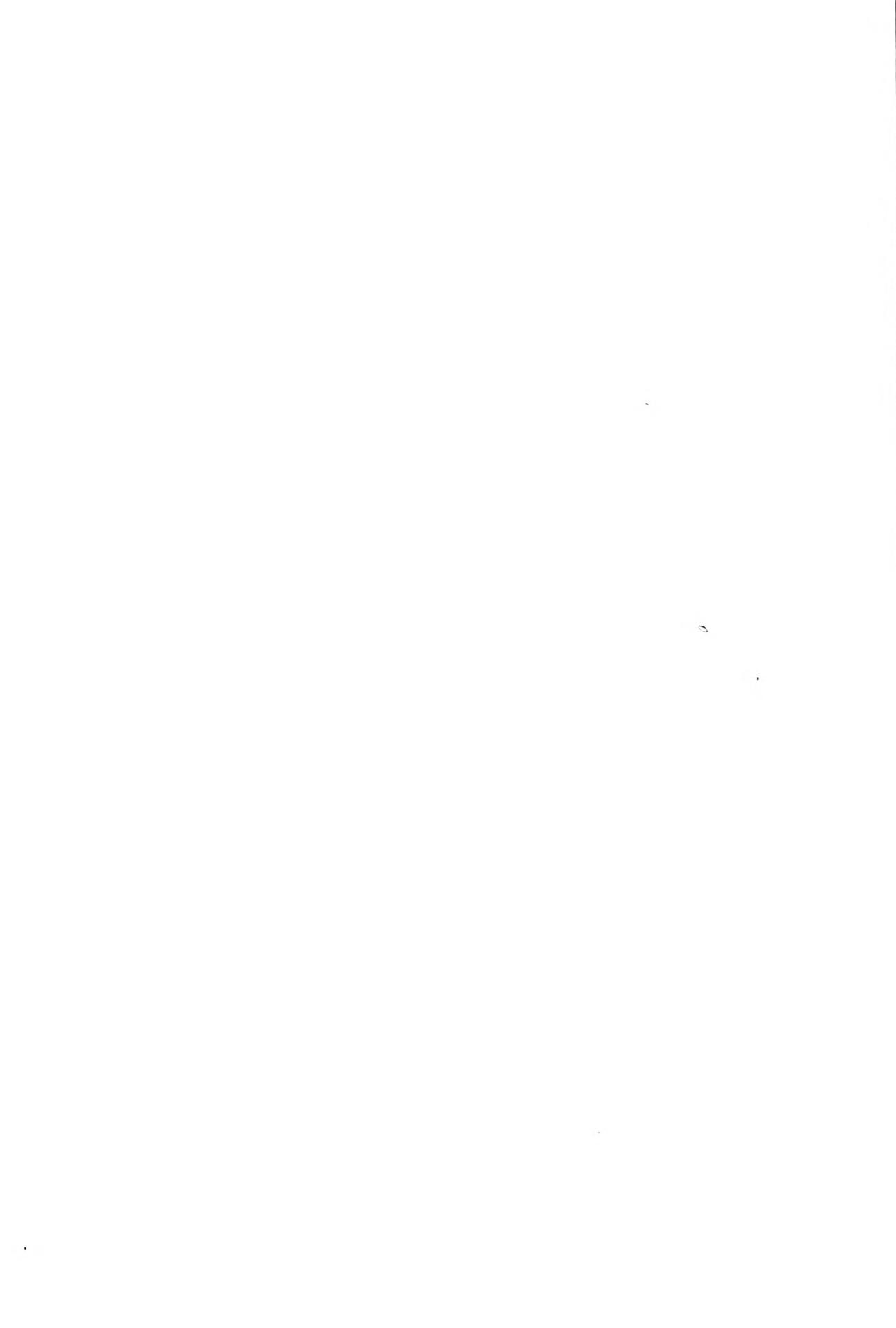
VI. THE EPOCH OF RECONSTRUCTION AND NATIONAL PROGRESS. 1865-1899

	The Administrations	
Andrew Johnson Republican 1865-1869	Domestic	Restoration of States The thirteenth amendment Impeachment of the president The fourteenth amendment Seceded States admitted The national debt
	Foreign	The French in Mexico Purchase of Alaska Chinese treaty
Ulysses S. Grant Republican 1869-1877	Domestic	Census of 1870 Pacific railroad complete Fires Signal Service Bureau Fifteenth amendment Panic of '73 Resumption of specie payment Centennials Modocs Sioux The electoral commission
	Foreign	Proposed annexation of Santo Domingo The Geneva award The <i>Virginius</i> in Cuban waters
Rutherford B. Hayes Republican 1877-1881	Domestic	U. S. troops at the South withdrawn Railroad strikes Riots in California Bland-Silver bill Resumption of specie payments Census of 1880
	Foreign	
Garfield and Arthur Republican 1881-1885	Domestic	Assassination of President Garfield Vice-President Arthur becomes president Centennial of the battle of Yorktown Expositions in the South Restriction of Chinese immigration Railroad time tables Lieutenant Greely's polar expedition
	Foreign	
Grover Cleveland Democratic 1885-1889	Domestic	Death of General Grant Bartholdi's statue of liberty Labor strikes Contract Labor bill Death of Vice-President Hendricks Blizzards and earthquakes Centennial of the signing of the Constitution Interstate Commerce Act Increase of navy Department of Labor established
	Foreign	Canadian fisheries Panama Canal and the Monroe doctrine

VI. THE EPOCH OF RECONSTRUCTION AND NATIONAL PROGRESS. 1865-1899

Benjamin Harrison Republican 1889-1893	Domestic	Oklahoma The Sioux reservation Census of 1890 Sherman Silver Purchase act ¹ Mc Kinley Tariff bill Pan-American Congress Columbian centennial
	Foreign	Panama Canal and the Monroe doctrine Samoan dispute Bering Sea arbitration Proposed annexation of Hawaii
Grover Cleveland Democratic 1893-1897	Domestic	Columbian centennial Panic of '93 Special session of Congress Repeal of Sherman Silver Purchase Act Strikes Wilson Tariff bill Increase of navy
	Foreign	Hawaii asks to be annexed to U. S. Cuba asks recognition of belligerency Venezuela boundary dispute
William Mc Kinley Republican 1897—	Domestic	Special session of Fifty-fifth Congress Dingley Tariff bill Appropriation for American citizens in Cuba Omaha Trans-Mississippi Exposition
	Foreign	Anglo-American joint high commission Samoan republic proposed Destruction of the <i>Maine</i> Congress resolves to interfere in Cuban affairs Declaration of war against Spain Blockade of Cuban ports Destruction of Spanish fleet in Manila Bay Guam occupied Destruction of Spanish fleet at Santiago Santiago occupied Peace protocol Porto Rico occupied Annexation of Hawaii Manila surrenders Treaty of peace with Spain Aguinaldo declares war against U. S.

¹ See page 349.



APPENDIX

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES -- 1787

We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I

SECTION 1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION 2. 1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.¹

2. No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative: and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

¹ See 14th amendment

4 When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5 The House of Representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION 3. 1 The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

2 Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3 No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4 The vice-president of the United States shall be president of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5 The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president *pro tempore*, in the absence of the vice-president, or when he shall exercise the office of the president of the United States.

6 The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the president of the United States is tried, the chief justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

7 Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECTION 4. 1 The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

2 The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION 5. 1 Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of

each shall constitute a quorum to do business : but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each house may provide.

2 Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

3 Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy ; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4 Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SECTION 6. 1 The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same : and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2 No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time ; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

SECTION 7. 1 All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives : but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2 Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the president of the United States : if he approve, he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the president within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been pre-

sented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3 Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the president of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION 8. 1 The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States:

2 To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

3 To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

4 To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

5 To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

6 To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

7 To establish post-offices and post-roads;

8 To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

9 To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

10 To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations;

11 To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

12 To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

13 To provide and maintain a navy;

14 To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

15 To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

16 To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

17 To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by

cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings; and —

18 To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION 9. 1 The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or a duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2 The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3 No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

4 No capitation, or other direct, tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

5 No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

6 No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7 No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8 No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECTION 10.¹ 1 No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2 No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts laid by any State on imports

¹ See the 10th, 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments.

or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States ; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3 No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II

SECTION 1. 1 The executive power shall be vested in a president of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the vice-president, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:—

2 Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress ; but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate. The president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed ; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for president ; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said house shall in like manner choose the president. But in choosing the president, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote ; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the president, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the vice-president. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the vice-president.¹

¹ See 12th amendment.

3 The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

4 No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of president; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

5 In case of the removal of the president from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the vice-president, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the president and vice-president, declaring what officer shall then act as president, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a president shall be elected.

6 The president shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

7 Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of president of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION 2. 1 The president shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2 He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the senators present concur, and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the president alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3 The president shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION 3 He shall from time to time give to the Congress

information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient: he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper: he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers: he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION 4. The president, vice-president, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III

SECTION 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION 2. 1 The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls: to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction: to controversies to which the United States shall be a party: to controversies between two or more States: between a State and citizens of another State;¹ between citizens of different States, between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

2 In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3 The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed: but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION 3. 1 Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of

¹ See the 11th amendment.

treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2 The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV

SECTION 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION 2. 1 The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2 A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3 No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.¹

SECTION 3. 1 New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union: but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State, nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

2 The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States: and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and, on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature can not be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which,

¹ See the 13th amendment.

in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress, provided, that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI

1 All debts contracted and engagements entered into before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the Confederation.

2 This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3 The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States, and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present¹ the seventeenth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth.
In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names,—

GEORGE WASHINGTON,
President, and Deputy from Virginia.

New Hampshire

Connecticut

John Langdon
Nicholas Gilman

Wm. Samuel Johnson
Roger Sherman

Massachusetts

New York

Nathaniel Gorham
Rufus King

Alexander Hamilton

¹ Rhode Island was not represented in the Federal Convention.

New Jersey

William Livingston
David Brearley
William Paterson
Jonathan Dayton

Pennsylvania

Benjamin Franklin
Thomas Mifflin
Robert Morris
George Clymer
Thomas Fitzsimons
Jared Ingersoll
James Wilson
Gouverneur Morris

Delaware

George Read
Gunning Bedford, Jr.
John Dickinson
Richard Bassett
Jacob Broom

Maryland

James Mc Henry
Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer
Daniel Carroll

Virginia

John Blair
James Madison, Jr.

North Carolina

William Blount
Richard Dobbs Spaight
Hugh Williamson

South Carolina

John Rutledge
Charles Cotesworth Pinckney
Charles Pinckney
Pierce Butler

Georgia

William Few
Abraham Baldwin

Attest: **WILLIAM JACKSON, Secretary**

NOTE.—The body of the Constitution is from the original draft, but the signatures have been modernized.

Articles in addition to, and amendment of, the Constitution of the United States of America, proposed by Congress, and ratified by the legislatures of the several States pursuant to the fifth article of the original Constitution.

ARTICLE I

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II

A well-regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ARTICLE VII

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X¹

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI²

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

ARTICLE XII³

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for president and vice-president, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as president, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as vice-president, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as president, and of all persons voted for as vice-president, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate. The president of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes for president shall be the president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as president, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the president. But in choosing the president, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a president, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the vice-president shall act as president, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the president. The person having the greatest number of votes as vice-president shall be the vice-president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the vice-president:

¹ The first ten amendments were adopted in 1791

² Adopted in 1798.

³ Adopted in 1804

a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of president shall be eligible to that of vice-president of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII¹

SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SECTION 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV²

SECTION 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SECTION 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for president and vice-president of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SECTION 3. No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of president and vice-president, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two thirds of each house, remove such disability.

¹ Adopted in 1865.

² Adopted in 1868.

SECTION 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECTION 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV³

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

³ Adopted in 1870.

THE ADMISSION OF STATES AND TERRITORIES INTO THE
UNION, AND THEIR RATIO OF REPRESENTATION BASED
ON THE CENSUS OF 1890

	STATES	Ratified the Constitution	1897 Repre- sent'ves	1896 Elec. Votes
1	Delaware.....	Dec. 7, 1787	1	3
2	Pennsylvania.....	Dec. 12, 1787	30	32
3	New Jersey.....	Dec. 18, 1787	8	10
4	Georgia.....	Jan. 2, 1788	11	13
5	Connecticut.....	Jan. 9, 1788	4	6
6	Massachusetts.....	Feb. 6, 1788	13	15
7	Maryland.....	April 28, 1788	6	8
8	South Carolina.....	May 23, 1788	7	9
9	New Hampshire.....	June 21, 1788	2	4
10	Virginia.....	June 25, 1788	10	12
11	New York.....	July 26, 1788	34	36
12	North Carolina.....	Nov. 21, 1789	9	11
13	Rhode Island.....	May 29, 1790	2	4
		Admitted to the Union		
14	Vermont.....	March 4, 1791	2	4
15	Kentucky.....	June 1, 1792	11	13
16	Tennessee.....	June 1, 1796	10	12
17	Ohio.....	Feb. 19, 1803	21	23
18	Louisiana.....	April 30, 1812	6	8
19	Indiana.....	Dec. 11, 1816	13	15
20	Mississippi.....	Dec. 10, 1817	7	9
21	Illinois.....	Dec. 3, 1818	22	24
22	Alabama.....	Dec. 14, 1819	9	11
23	Maine.....	March 15, 1820	4	6
24	Missouri.....	Aug. 10, 1821	15	17
25	Arkansas.....	June 15, 1836	6	8
26	Michigan.....	Jan. 26, 1837	12	14
27	Florida.....	March 3, 1845	2	4
28	Texas.....	Dec. 29, 1845	13	15
29	Iowa.....	Dec. 28, 1846	11	13
30	Wisconsin.....	May 29, 1848	10	12
31	California.....	Sept. 9, 1850	7	9
32	Minnesota.....	May 11, 1858	7	9
33	Oregon.....	Feb. 14, 1859	2	4
34	Kansas.....	Jan. 29, 1861	8	10
35	West Virginia.....	June 19, 1863	4	6
36	Nevada.....	Oct. 31, 1864	1	3
37	Nebraska.....	March 1, 1867	6	8
38	Colorado.....	Aug. 1, 1876	2	4
39	North Dakota.....	Nov. 2, 1889	1	3
40	South Dakota.....	Nov. 2, 1889	2	4
41	Montana.....	Nov. 8, 1889	1	3
42	Washington.....	Nov. 11, 1889	2	4
43	Idaho.....	July 3, 1890	1	3
44	Wyoming.....	July 10, 1890	1	3
45	Utah.....	Jan. 4, 1896	1	3

	TERRITORIES	Organized	
1	Indian Territory.....	June 30, 1834	No census
2	New Mexico.....	Sept. 9, 1850	
3	Arizona	Feb. 24, 1863	
4	Alaska.....	July 27, 1868	
5	Oklahoma.....	April 22, 1889	No census
6	District of Columbia.....	March 3, 1791	

EUROPEAN SOVEREIGNS CONTEMPORANEOUS WITH COLONIAL HISTORY

ENGLAND	FRANCE	SPAIN
Henry VII.....1485	Charles VIII.....1483	Ferdinand and
Henry VIII.....1509	Louis XII.....1498	Isabella1479
Edward V1547	Francis I.....1515	Charles I.....1516
Mary1553	Henry II.....1547	
Elizabeth.....1558	Francis II.....1559	Philip II.....1556
James I1603	Charles IX.....1560	
Charles I.1625	Henry III.....1574	
Commonwealth....1640	Henry IV1589	Philip III.....1598
Charles II.....1660	Louis XIII.....1610	
James II.....1685	Louis XIV.....1643	Philip IV.....1621
William III and Mary II.....1689		Charles II.....1665
Anne.....1702	Louis XV.....1715	
George I.....1714		Philip V.....1700
George II.....1727	Louis XVI.....1774	Ferdinand VI.....1744
George III...1760-1820	Republic1793-1804	Charles III1750
		Charles IV...1788-1808

A LETTER FROM CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS TO LUIS DE SANT ANGEL

THE following letter addressed by Christopher Columbus to Luis de Sant Angel, whose powerful advocacy of the proposed voyage finally induced Queen Isabella to favor its undertaking, was written, in large part, off the Canary Islands during the admiral's first voyage. It is thought that Columbus sent the letter from Palos to Barcelona, where Sant Angel was in attendance upon Ferdinand and Isabella, before retiring to Seville to await the royal summons to court.

SIR: As I know you will be rejoiced at the glorious success that our Lord has given me in my voyage, I write this to tell you how in thirty-three days I sailed to the Indies with the fleet that the illustrious King and Queen, our Sovereigns, gave me, where I discovered a great many islands, inhabited by innumerable people; and of all I have taken possession for their Highnesses by proclamation and display of the Royal Standard, without opposition. To the first Island I discovered I gave the name of San Salvador, in commemoration of His Divine Majesty, who has wonderfully granted all this. The Indians call it Guanahani. The second I named the Island of Santa Maria de Concepcion: the third, Fernandina: the fourth, Isabella: the fifth, Juana: and thus to each one I gave a new name. When I came to Juana, I followed the coast of that isle toward the west, and found it so extensive that I thought it might be mainland, the province Cathay: and as I found no towns nor villages, on the seacoast, except a few small settlements, where it was impossible to speak to the people, because they fled at once, I continued the said route, thinking I could not fail to see some great cities or towns, and finding at the end of many leagues that nothing new appeared, and that the coast led northward, contrary to my wish, because the winter had already set in, I decided to make for the south, and as the wind also was against my proceeding, I determined not to wait there longer, and turned back to a certain port, from whence I sent two men on shore to find out whether there was any king or large city. They explored for three days, and found numerous small communities and innumerable people, but could hear of no kind of government, so they returned. I heard from other Indians I had already taken that this land was an island, and thus followed the eastern coast for 107 leagues, until I came to the end

of it. From that point I saw another isle to the east, at eight or ten leagues' distance, to which I at once gave the name of Spañola. I went thither and followed its northern coast to the east, as I had done in Juana, 178 leagues in a straight line eastward, as in Juana. This island, like all the others, is most extensive, and richly wooded. It has many ports along the seacoast—incomparably more than others I know of in Christendom—and marvelously fine, large, flowing rivers. The land there is elevated, with many mountains and peaks incomparably higher than in the center isle. They are most beautiful, of a thousand varied forms, accessible, and full of trees of endless varieties, so high that they seem to touch the sky; and I have been told that they never lose their foliage. I can affirm that I saw them as green and lovely as trees are in Spain in May, and some of them were in flower, some with fruit, and some in other conditions, according to their kind. The nightingale and other small birds of a thousand kinds were singing in the month of November when I was there; and there were palms of six or eight varieties, the graceful peculiarities of each one of them being worthy of admiration. But besides the other trees, fruits, and grasses, there are wonderful pine-woods, and very extensive ranges of meadow land. There is honey, and there are many kinds of birds, and a great variety of fruits. Inland there are numerous mines of metals, and considerable numbers of people. *Spañola* is a wonder, with its hills and mountains, fine *plains*, open country, and land rich and fertile for planting and sowing, to bring in profit of all sorts; for *building* towns and villages. The seaports there are incredibly fine, as also the magnificent rivers, most of which bear gold. The trees, fruits, and grasses, differ widely from those in *Juana*. There are many spices, and vast mines of gold and other metals. The people of all the islands I have discovered and taken, and those of whom I have heard, both men and women, go about naked as when they were born, except that some of the women cover one part of themselves with a single leaf of grass, or a cotton thing that they make for this purpose. They have no iron, nor steel, nor weapons, nor are they fit for them, because although they are well-made men of commanding stature, they appear extraordinarily timid. The only arms they have are sticks of cane, cut when in seed, *with a sharpened stick at the end, and they are afraid to use these.* Often I have sent two or three men ashore to some town to hold converse with them, and the natives came out in great numbers, and as soon as they saw our men arrive, fled without a moment's delay.

I protected them from all injury, and at every point where I landed and succeeded in talking to them, I gave them some of everything I had—cloth and many other things—without receiving anything in return, but they are hopelessly timid people. It is true that since they have gained more confidence, and

are losing this fear, they are so unsuspicous and so generous with what they possess, that no one who had not seen it would believe it, never refusing anything that is asked for, and they also offer themselves, and show so much love that they would give their very hearts. Whether it be anything of great or small value, with any trifle of whatever kind, they are satisfied. I forbade worthless things being given to them, such as bits of broken bowls, pieces of glass, and old tags, although they were as much pleased to get them as if they were the finest jewels in the world. One sailor was found to have got for a tagged point gold of the weight of two and a half castellanos, and others for even more worthless things much more; while for new *blancas* they would give all they had, were it two or three ounces of pure gold or an arroba or two of spun cotton. Even bits of the broken hoops of wine-casks they accepted, and gave in return what they had, like fools, and it seemed wrong to me. I forbade it, and gave a thousand nice, good things that I had, to win their love, and thus I expect they will become Christians, and disposed to love and serve their Highnesses and the whole Castilian nation, and help to get for us things they have in abundance, which are necessary to us. They have no religion nor idolatry, except that they all believe the power of Good to be in heaven; and firmly believed that I, with my ships and men, came from heaven, and with this idea I have been received everywhere, since they lost fear of me. They are, however, far from being ignorant; indeed they are most ingenious men, who navigate these seas in a wonderful way, and describe everything well, but they never before saw people wearing clothes, nor similar vessels. Directly I reached the Indies, in the first isle I discovered, I took by force some of the natives, that from them we might gain some information of what there was in these parts; and so it was that we immediately understood each other, either by words or signs. And these are now of great use wherever I take them, as they are always ready to assert that I come from heaven, from much intercourse they have had with me, and they were the first to declare this wherever I went, and the others ran from house to house, and to the towns around, crying out, "Come! Come! and see the men from heaven!" Then all, both men and women, as soon as they were reassured about us, came, both small and great, all bringing something to eat and to drink, which they presented with marvelous kindness. In the isles there are a great many canoes, something like rowing boats, of all sizes, and many are larger than an eighteen-oared galley. They are not very broad, as they are made of a single plank, but a galley could not compete with them in rowing, because they go with incredible speed, and with these they row about all these islands, which are innumerable, and carry their merchandise. I have seen some of these canoes with 70 and 80 men in them, and each had an oar. In all the islands I observed little difference in the appearance of the people, or in their habits and lan-

guage, except that they understand each other, which is remarkable. Therefore I hope that their Highnesses will decide upon the conversion of these people to our holy faith, to which they seem much inclined. I have already stated how I sailed 107 leagues along the seacoast, in a straight line from west to east, by the island of Juana; according to which voyage I can assert that this island is larger than England and Scotland together, since beyond these 107 leagues there remained at the west point two provinces where I did not go, one of which they call Avan, the home of the men with tails, and these provinces are computed to be not less than 50 or 60 leagues in length as far as can be understood from the Indians with me who are acquainted with all the islands. This other Española is larger in circumference than all Spain from *Catalonia* on the seacoast to *Fuenterabia* in Biscay, since upon one side of a square I sailed 188 good leagues in a straight line from west to east. This is worth having, and must on no account be given up, as I have taken possession of it, as of all the other isles, for their Highnesses, and all may be more extensive than I know or can say, and I hold them for their Highnesses, who can command them as absolutely as the kingdoms of Castile. In Hispaniola, in the most convenient place, most accessible for the gold-mines and all commerce with the mainland, on this side and on the other, that of the great Khan, with which there would be great trade and profit, I have taken possession of a large town, which I named the City of *Nazidad*, and made fortifications there, which should be completed by this time, and I have left in it men enough to hold it, with arms, artillery, and provisions for more than a year; and boats with master seamen of all kinds to make others; and I am so friendly with the king of that country that he was proud to call me his brother and hold me as such, and even should he change his mind and wish to quarrel with my people, neither he nor his subjects know what arms are, and wear no clothes, as I have said. They are the least courageous people in the world, so that only the men remaining there could destroy the whole region, and run no risk if they know how to behave themselves properly. In all these islands the men seem to be satisfied with one wife, and allow as many as twenty to their chief or king. The women appear to me to work harder than the men, and so far as I can hear they have nothing of their own, for I think I perceived that what one had others shared, especially food. In the islands so far I have found no monsters, as some expected, but, on the contrary, they are people of very handsome appearance. They are not black, as in Guinea, though their hair is straight and coarse, as it does not grow where the sun's rays are too ardent. And in truth the sun has extreme power here, since it is within 26 degrees of the equinoctial line. In these islands there are mountains where the cold this winter was very severe, but the people endure it from habit,

and with the aid of the viands they eat with a great quantity of various very hot spices. As for monsters I have found no trace of them except at one point in the second isle, as you enter the Indies, which is inhabited by a people considered in all the isles as most ferocious, who eat human flesh. These possess many canoes, with which they overrun all the isles of India, stealing and seizing all they can. They are not worse-looking than the others, except that they wear their hair long like women, and use bows and arrows of the same cane, with a sharp stick at the end for *want* of iron, of which they have none. They are ferocious compared to these other races, who are extremely cowardly, but I only heard this from the others. They are said to make treaties of marriage with the women in the first isle to be met with coming from Spain to the Indies, where there are *no men*. These women have no feminine occupation, but use bows and arrows of cane like those before-mentioned, and cover and arm themselves with plates of copper, of which they have a great quantity. Another island, I am told, is larger than Española, where the natives have no hair, and where there is countless gold; and from them all I bring with me Indians to testify to this. To speak, in conclusion, only of what has been done during this hurried voyage, their Highnesses will see that I can give them as much gold as they choose, with the very small aid their Highnesses may grant me now, spices, cotton, as much as their Highnesses may command to be shipped, and gum-mastic as much as their Highnesses choose to send for, which until now has only been found in Greece, in the isle of Chios, and the Signoria can get its own price for it. As much lign-aloe as they command to be shipped, and as many slaves as they choose to send for, all heathens. I believe we have found rhubarb, and cinnamon; and many other things of value will be discovered by the men I left behind me, as I stayed nowhere when the wind allowed me to pursue my voyage, except in the city of Navidad, which I left fortified and safe; and, indeed, I might have accomplished much more, had the crews served me as they ought to have done. The eternal and almighty God, our Lord, it is who gives to all who walk in his way victory over things apparently impossible, and in this case signally so, because although these lands had been imagined and talked of before they were seen, most listened incredulously to what was thought to be but an idle tale. Thus, then, our Redeemer has given victory to our most illustrious King and Queen, and to their kingdoms rendered famous by this glorious event, at which all Christendom should rejoice, celebrating it with great festivities and solemn Thanksgivings to the Holy Trinity, with fervent prayers for the high distinction that will accrue to them from turning so many peoples to our holy faith; and also for the temporal benefits that not only Spain but all Christian nations will obtain from the resources and gain thus open to them. Thus I record what has

happened in a brief Epistle written on board the Caravel, above the Canary Isles, on the 15th of February, 1493.

Yours to Command,

THE ADMIRAL.

POSTSCRIPT WITHIN THE LETTER.

Since writing the above, being in the Sea of Castile, so much wind arose, south southeast, that I was forced to lighten the vessels, to run into this port of Lisbon to-day, which was the most extraordinary thing in the world, from whence I resolved to write to Their Highnesses. In all the Indies I always found the temperature like that of May. Where I went in thirty-three days I returned in twenty-eight, except that these gales have detained me fourteen days, *knocking about in* this sea. Here all seamen say that there has never been so rough a winter, nor so many vessels lost. Done the 14th day of March.

COLLATERAL READINGS

DISCOVERY AND COLONIZATION

Fiske's "Old Virginia and Her Neighbors."
 Doyle's "Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas."
 Doyle's "The Puritan Colonies."
 Fiske's "The Beginnings of New England."
 Coffin's "Old Times in the Colonies."
 Parkman's Works.

THE REVOLUTION.

Bancroft's "History of the United States."
 Fiske's "The Critical Period of American History."
 Lodge's "George Washington."
 Morse's "Benjamin Franklin."
 Tyler's "Patrick Henry."
 Coffin's "Boys of '76."
 Sumner's "Robert Morris."
 Roosevelt's "Winning of the West."
 Hinsdale's "The Old Northwest."

NATIONALITY.

Schouler's "History of the United States."
 Mc Master's "History of the People of the United States."
 Morse's "Alexander Hamilton;" "John Adams."
 Von Holst's "John C. Calhoun."
 Schouler's "Thomas Jefferson."
 Roosevelt's "Naval War of 1812."
 Johnston's "American Politics."
 Schurz's "Henry Clay."
 Morse's "John Quincy Adams."
 Sumner's "Andrew Jackson."
 Roosevelt's "Thomas H. Benton."

CIVIL WAR.

Nicolay and Hay's "Abraham Lincoln."
 Rhodes's "History of the United States."
 Mahon's "The Gulf and Inland Waters;" "Farragut."
 "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War."
 Alexander Stephens's "View of the War between the States."

RECONSTRUCTION AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

Shaler's "History of the United States."
 Johnston's "American Politics."
 Blaine's "Twenty Years in Congress."
 Andrews' "Last Quarter of a Century."

PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY¹

Algonquin, āl-gōn'kwiñ	Kearsarge, kēr'särj
Americus Vespuclius, a-měr'i-kūs věs-poot'chee-us	Kosciusko, kos-si-us'ko
André, än'drä	Kossuth, kosh-ōōt'
Apache, ä-pä'chā	Ladrones, la-drōnz (Sp. läd-rō'nēs)
Bahama, bā-hā'ma	Lafayette, lä'fā'yēt'
Balboa, bäl-bō'ā	La Salle, lä säl'
Barbary, bär'ba-ri	Leyden, lē'den
Beauregard, bōr'gär'	Luzon, lōō-zōn'
Bering, bē'rīng	Magellan, mā-jēl'an
Bonhomme Richard, böñ-höm'- rē'shär'	Montcalm, mōñt-käm'
Bouquet, boo-kä'	Mindanao, mēn-dä-nä'o
Buena Vista, bū'nā vīs'tā	Narvaez, nar-vä'ëth
Cabral, kä-bräl'	Nicaragua, nē-kä-rä'gwä
Cadiz, käd'iz	Nueces, nwā'sés
Cartier, kar'ty-ä'	Panay, pā-nī'
Cavite, kä-vē-tā'	Philippine, fil'ip-īn
Chile, chē'lā	Ponce de Leon, pōn'thā dā lā-ōn'
Cibola, sē'bō-lō (Span. thē'bó-lā)	Powhatan, pow'-ha-tān'
Coronado, ko-ro-nä'do	Pulaski, pū-läš'kee
De Ayllon, dā-il-yōn'	Raleigh, raw'lī
Delfshaven, dělf'shä'ven	Rapidan, rāp'īd-än'
De Gourgues, deh-goorg'	Resaca de la Palma, rā-sä'kä dā lä päl'mä
Duquesne, dü-kān'	Rio Grande, rē'ō grän'dā
Garcia, gar'se-ä	Rochambeau, ro'shōn'bo'
Genet, zheh-nä'	Santiago, sän-tē-ä'gō
Gorges, gōr'jēz	San Juan, sän hōō-än'
Haiti, hā'tī	Schuylér, skī'lēr
Iroquois, īrō-kwoi'	Slidell, slī-dēl'
Iuka, ī-ū'kä	Steuben, stū'ben (Ger. Stoi'-ben)
Jean Ribaut, zhōñ re'bō'	Stuyvesant, stī've-sānt
Joliet, zho'le-ä'	Sulu, sōō'lōō'
	Verrazzano, vēr-rä-tsä'no

¹ Key to the marks: āle, senāte, cāre, ärm, gll, läst; ēve, ēvent,
ēnd; īce; öld, öbey, örb, ödd; üse, ünite; oi as in oil; ä, e obscure.
In Spanish words z is lisped, also c when followed by e or i. For
example, Nueces is pronounced nwā'thēs, and final s is sharp s.



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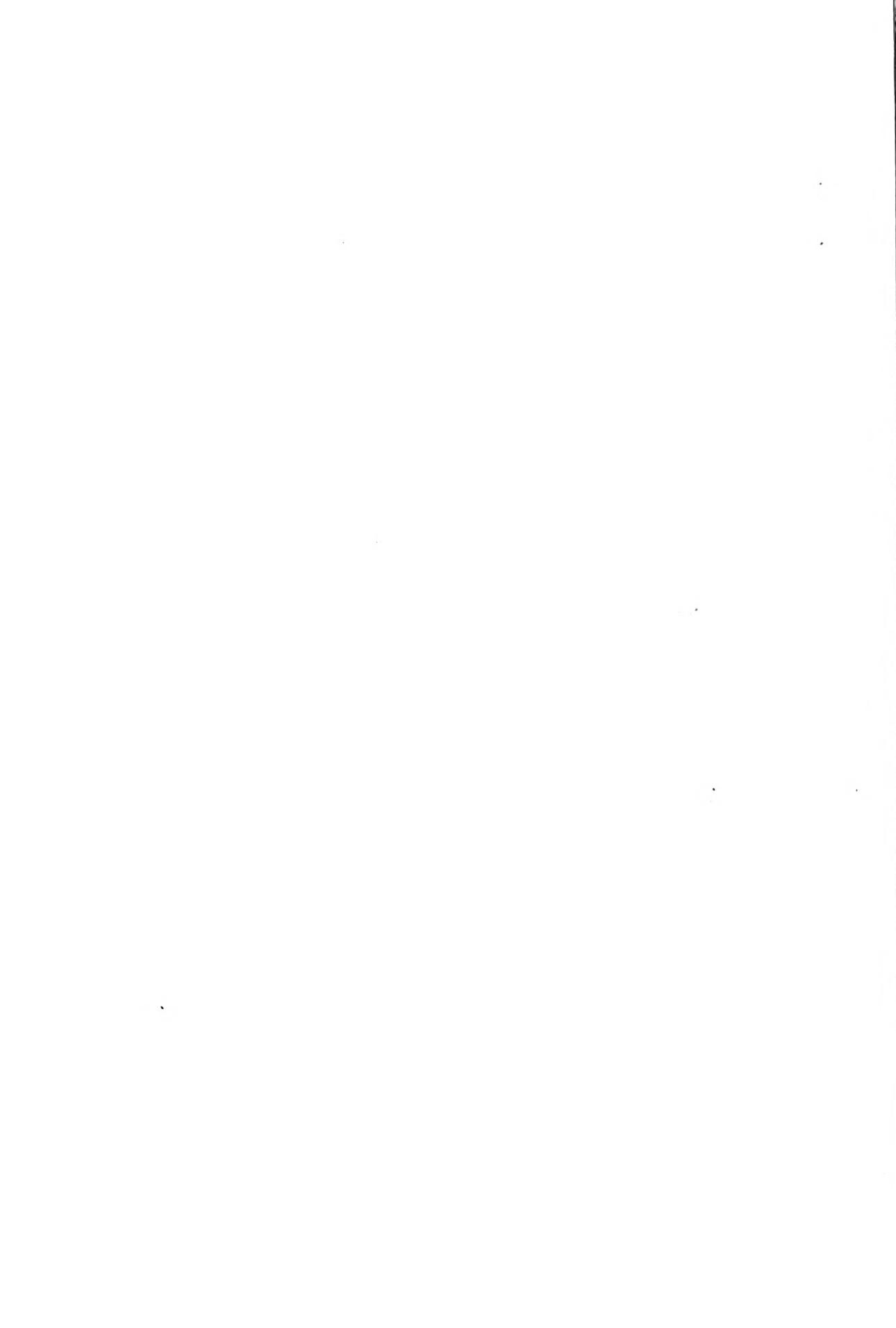
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